

THE
Critical History
OF
ENGLAND,
Ecclesiastical and Civil.

VOL. II.

BOOKS lately printed for J. PEMBERTON.

I. **T**HE Critical History of *England*, Ecclesiastical and Civil; wherein the Errors of the Monkish Writers, and others before the Reformation, are exposed and corrected: As are also the Deficiency and Partiality of later Historians. And particular Notice is taken of the History of the Grand Rebellion, and Mr. Archdeacon *Echard's* History of *England*. To which are added, Remarks on some Objections to Bishop *Burnet's* History of his own Life and Times. The 2d Edition, Vol. I.

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THE
Critical History
OF
ENGLAND,
Ecclesiastical and Civil.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING
An EXAMEN of Mr. *ECHARD*'s History
of the Reigns of

HENRY VIII.

EDWARD VI.

QUEEN MARY,

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

JAMES I.

CHARLES I.

CHARLES II.

JAMES II.

Shewing

From whence and from whom all our unhappy
Divisions and Distractions have arisen,
From the *Reformation* to the *Revolution*.

To which are added

Further Remarks on the History of the *Grand Rebellion*.

— — — *Though fall'n on Evil Days,
On Evil Days though fall'n, and Evil Tongues,
Milt. Par. Lost.*

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Buck against St. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleet-street*.
M.DCC.XXVI.

THE
CRITICAL HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND
Ecclesiastical and Civil



From the year 1534 to the year 1547
The reign of Henry VIII
From the year 1547 to the year 1553
The reign of Edward VI
From the year 1553 to the year 1558
The reign of Mary II
From the year 1558 to the year 1567
The reign of Elizabeth I
From the year 1567 to the year 1584
The reign of James VI
From the year 1584 to the year 1603
The reign of James VI
From the year 1603 to the year 1625
The reign of James VI
From the year 1625 to the year 1649
The reign of Charles I
From the year 1649 to the year 1660
The reign of Charles II
From the year 1660 to the year 1685
The reign of James II
From the year 1685 to the year 1688
The reign of William III
From the year 1688 to the year 1702
The reign of Anne II
From the year 1702 to the year 1714
The reign of George I
From the year 1714 to the year 1727
The reign of George II
From the year 1727 to the year 1760
The reign of George III
From the year 1760 to the year 1801
The reign of George III
From the year 1801 to the year 1820
The reign of George III
From the year 1820 to the year 1830
The reign of George III
From the year 1830 to the year 1840
The reign of George III
From the year 1840 to the year 1850
The reign of George III
From the year 1850 to the year 1860
The reign of George III
From the year 1860 to the year 1870
The reign of George III
From the year 1870 to the year 1880
The reign of George III
From the year 1880 to the year 1890
The reign of George III
From the year 1890 to the year 1901
The reign of George III

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Printers Office, in St. Dunstons Church Lane, 1714.
MDCCLXIV.



P R E F A C E.



HO I do not reckon myself under any Obligation to account for my Undertaking, to the Author of the History I have examin'd; yet I cannot forbear observing, that no Prejudice to his Person or Character, no Envy to his Merit or Fame, did put me upon it; no, nor the Importunity of Friends and Strangers, of which I have had more than would be credible: But a sincere Desire to prevent the Mischiefs that might happen to our present happy Constitution, by leaving the Principles on which it is founded, and the Practices by which it has been secur'd, under the Disadvantages of the Historian's Misrepresentations.

The Principles on which it is founded, are those of Liberty Spiritual and Temporal. The Practices by which it has been secur'd, are the Resistance, which at several times has prevented its being made a Sacrifice to Tyranny and Priestcraft.

These Principles are every where represented in Mr. Echard's History as Schismatical in the Church, and Seditious in the State: And the Practices of our Ancestors in Defence of that Liberty, are Rebellion in all the Reigns, when Resistance was necessary, according to his Representation.

In the first Volume I prov'd, that the Laws and Customs deliver'd down to us from our British and Saxon Fathers, justify'd the Practices of those brave English Heroes, who have always stood in the Gap when our Constitution has been in danger.

In this Volume I shall prove, that Protestant Dissenters have a Claim to our Indulgence and Good-will, as they are Brethren of the Reformation, and Professors of the same Doctrine and Discipline with the first Reformers: That to charge them with broaching of Novelties, and hating Monarchy, with Sedition and Enthusiasm, as Mr. Echard has done, is groundless and scandalous.

I shall prove that the rigid Notions of the bigotted Clergy, and the severe Laws which they procured against our Protestant Brethren, began the Separation, and that the cruel Execution of those Laws continu'd it.

It will appear that the Historian's Representations of the Princes, who protected them in their Severities, and the Ministers, who favour'd them, are not only partial and unfair, but untrue.

It will appear that the Spirit of Persecution has never prevail'd but in the Reigns of weak or vicious Princes; and that when those bigotted Clergy-men have been in favour, this Kingdom has been in perpetual Trouble at home, and Disgrace abroad. But when our Princes have been inspir'd with a thirst of Glory, they have always been alike solicitous to preserve the Ballance of Power, as well at home as abroad, among their Subjects as their Allies; that one Party might not oppress the other, but all be equally happy in their Government and Friendship.

As it was necessary to name the ill Instruments made use of in carrying on the bad Work, during the Reigns after Queen Elizabeth's Death; and those ill Instruments consisting of Ecclesiasticks, as well as Laymen,

I could not avoid making frequent mention of the former; not out of any disregard to the sacred Function, but to answer the Truth of History, and lay the Mischiefs which have happen'd to these Kingdoms, since that time, at the doors of those who did them.

I know very well that the Clergy of the Church of England are the best Defence and Ornament of the Protestant Religion, and that both in City and Country there are many for whom one cannot have too much Respect. I must needs own the Malignity has lain chiefly among the rural Priesthood; but among them have I also met with many Pious and Learned Ministers, Men of good Sense and Worth, whose Minds have been larger, and more ingenuous, than to give into the rigid Notions of such as have been misled by Pride, Passion, Interest, and Ignorance: and it is with great pleasure that I have lately observ'd the number of the latter to be much diminish'd.

I cannot think any of those good Men will apply to themselves what is said of such as have not their Virtues and Abilities; but to prevent the like Misapplications by others, I have explain'd myself in this manner.

I expected when I enter'd upon this Work, to be censur'd and abus'd for it, by the Set of Men against whom the Edge of it is turn'd, and not to have thanks for it from that other Set of Men, whose Principles and Practices are, in appearance, the same as those that founded and have defended our Constitution.

Nor have I been baulk'd in my Expectations.

But I did also expect to give Satisfaction to all true and disinterested Lovers of Liberty and Charity, however otherwise distinguish'd; and with great pleasure I can say, that therein I have met with more than I expected; which is so ample a Reward for all the Pains I have taken, that I cannot be very sensible of the Rage of the one Set, nor the Indifference of the other: The Cause of the one is so bad, 'twill admit of no Complacency; and the other so good, 'twill admit of no Disgust.

I have not heard of any reasonable Objection to the many Particulars that are in the first Volume. Slips of the Pen, or the Press, I will not contend about. Errors of Judgment deserve some Tenderness, but Errors of the Will none; of the latter Kind are all Misrepresentations of Persons and

Things, partial Characters, Concealments, and Exaggerations in History, contrary to plain Truth, and known Fact. Such is the Partiality of Mankind, says Dryden, Pref. to Juvenal, to set up that Interest which they have once espous'd, tho it be to the Prejudice of Truth, Morality, and common Justice. Had I not met with much of this in the History of the Grand Rebellion, and Mr. Echard's History, I should not have troubled my self about them. I knew well enough what had happen'd to Church and State before these Histories were publish'd. I turn'd them over out of curiosity only, and should probably have laid them down for ever, had not I been provok'd to make Observations, by the Partiality and Insincerity I found there, after comparing them with Rushworth, Whitlocke, and other impartial Writers. Part of those Observations will be met with in these two Volumes, the rest shall remain where they are, till new Provocations make the publishing of them necessary.

I am very willing to join Issue with those Histories, upon the following Conditions.

If our falling off from Popery was, in the opinion of the Reform'd, a thorough Reformation.

*If the Persecution of the Professors of the Reform'd Religion in Queen Elizabeth's,
King*

P R E F A C E.

(9)

King James's, and the three following Reigns, was agreeable to Christian Charity.

If King James's Reign was a wise and a glorious one.

If King Charles I. and his Ministers, did not break in upon the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects.

If the Resistance of the Parliament from 1642, to the Force put upon them by the Soldiery, was not as lawful as the Resistance in 1688.

If the great Leaders in that Parliament were not Men of Worth and Honour.

If the Republick afterwards did not behave to the Credit of the Nation.

If Oliver was not a brave and politick Ruler.

If Monk did not betray his Masters, and had a great Genius for Politicks.

If King Charles II. was not a Papist, in league with France, abandon'd to Pleasure, and ungrateful alike to both Churchmen and Presbyterians.

If

If King James II. was not a bigotted, weak, and obstinate Prince, and the abdicating him was not a Contradiction to all the Oaths that had been taken for unlimited Obedience, and to all the Sermons, Addresses, Decrees, Speeches, &c. against Resistance, in Cases of extreme Necessity.

Then do I own that this Critical History is full of Falshood, Misrepresentation, Prevarication, and all the Faults with which I charge those other Histories.

But if all those Articles are right, then is my Charge made good against them, and then was it absolutely necessary to leave Posterity an Antidote against the Poyson they had prepared for them.

These are Matters of Importance. Defects in Method, Thought, and Stile, are Trifles compar'd to Defects in Truth. However, notice is elsewhere taken of the former, and perhaps those Remarks would have been the most pleasant of any, had they been publish'd with these, as was intended; but it would have swell'd the Book too much, and are therefore to be found in an Essay on Criticism, as it regards Design, Thought, and Expression, which has been some time ready for the Press, to prepare the way for an Edition in English of Father Bouhours's

Bouhours's Maniere de bien penser dans les Ouvrages d'Esprit: "*Manner of right Thinking in the Works of the Ingenious,*" which he has illustrated by Examples out of the best antient and modern Authors, Greek, Italian, French and Spanish. And in this English Edition, will be added Examples in all kinds of Thought and Expression, out of the best Authors in our own Language; the latter being much more than are in the French Edition, or than all that Treatise.

One may hope, when the Learned Critick's Reflections, so highly recommended by the Spectator, are more known, nothing but what is true and natural will be acceptable; and that false Colours and Affectation in Sentiment and Language, will be as odious or contemptible, as Paint and Coquetry are in Beauty and Air.

When that Evil Day comes, I know what will become of the Beauties and Graces of most of our Modern Histories, as well as Plays, Poems, Essays, Translations, &c. which do indeed cry out for Criticism.

If there are a few Passages in this Volume, which were touch'd a little in the first, it is to explain them further, and it was made necessary by some Doubts that have risen about them.

The

The Author's great distance from the Press was the Cause of so many Errata; and if any remain unobserved, they are left to the Candour or Mercy of the Reader.

There is a very unhappy Blunder in the Press-work, p. 348. l. ult. where a very valuable Name is printed for a very invaluable one.



INTRO.



INTRODUCTION:

*Containing Observations on Mr. ECHARD'S
Prefaces and Introductions to his Histories
of England.*

MY Design in undertaking to make some Remarks upon our Antient and Modern History, was only to shew how it is corrupted by Bigotry and Prejudice, especially in the Writings of the *Ecclesiasticks*.

The Monks, besides the Adoration they paid to the *Papacy*, had all the Revenues, Dignities, and Powers of their Order in view; and the *Stanch* Clergy have imitated them to Perfection since the Demolishment of Monkery. They have written a thousand Volumes on the Apostolical Succession and Divine Right of the *Priesthood*; on the Sanctity of their Function, and its Independency on the State. They have made Monarchy *Tyranny*, Subjection *Slavery*, and endeavoured to support their false Arguments by false Representations. Fact and Reason ever were, and ever will be against them. Religion did, and will eternally consist in Piety, Virtue, and Charity, in a Contempt of worldly Poms and Vanities; and Government was ordained by the Great Creator for the Peace and Happiness of his Creatures; which is inconsistent with that Arbitrary Unlimited

INTRODUCTION.

Power, which has been the chief Topick of Sermons, Addresses, and Pamphlets from a Set of Men ever since the Restoration. 'Twas attempted to be established in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles* the First, by *Bancroft*, *Laud*, and their Instruments; but in that of King *Charles* the Second, they got certain beloved Acts of Parliament on their side, and then Persecution became the Constitution, till the People grew ashamed of it, and our Deliverer King *William* restored their Spiritual and Temporal Liberties. The happiest Restoration they were ever blest'd with!

I have no other Cause of Offence with Mr. *Eckard* than what is general and publick; or at least any private and particular Resentment did not animate me in my Reflections upon his History. The Bent of which, before and since the Reformation, is, to prove that the Laws and Liberties of *England* have been always the very same as is represented in *Lesley's* and *Bedford's* Books, and things have been exactly so from the Beginning; when that Beginning would have been a Curse to all Generations, if the quite contrary had not been in Fact and in Truth.

The Splendor of the Church dazzles one in his History before the Reformation, and after it too, when the *Reformers* had time to flourish and shine out under *Whitgift*, &c. at what time the Glory and Splendor appeared again to the Destruction of Charity and Humanity; yet all the while were these bright and radiant Fathers treading in the Steps of the Apostles, from whom they derived those Rights and Prerogatives which the divine Apostles never had themselves. Let them argue as long as any body will hearken to them; let them have Sophistry and Confidence on their Side; History and Reason are entirely against them. They must adulterate both with Prevarication and Misrepresentation, or they will not speak for them. Which I shall demonstrate in the following Treatise.

From what the Historian promises in all his Prefaces, one would hope to find him the most upright, sincere Writer. He met with no Reflections upon History but what taught him Truth and Integrity. *An Historian ought to be of no Party*, says he, *Truth and Fidelity are my principal Aim.* I have carefully endeavour'd
not.

INTRODUCTION.

iii

not to exasperate, or flatter. I have used my utmost Endeavours to follow the strict Rules of Sincerity and Judgment. All which appears wonderfully in my first Volume, and will appear again much more so in this.

I am convinced of the Disingenuity of censuring Authors for Slips and Negligences; and indeed have a great Aversion to all manner of Censure, where we meet with a modest Air, and an honest Design. But when one finds so many Boasts of Impartiality and Judgment, such a Conceit of the Author's Self, and such a Contempt of Others; such bold Assertions, and such dangerous Tenets, one ought to have more Complacency for Truth, than for the Person who offends. In the close of his last Preface, Mr. *Echard* promises a thing fairly enough, tho the performance of it has been so long deferr'd, that it is now despair'd of. *If any Person either in Print, or otherwise, will generously inform me of my Mistakes and Errors, I shall be heartily thankful to him, and will act accordingly.* Have not Dr. *Calamy*, Monsieur *Des Maizeaux*, the Author of the *Ten Letters*, and Others, charged him with falsifying many Facts? Has he vindicated himself, or retracted One of them? What Encouragement was there to admonish him in private, when he had not shewn the least Sense of Error or Mistake in his History? Further, the Story of the *Devil* and *Oliver Cromwell* had been generally spoken of with Indignation or Ridicule, as the idlest filliest Tale that ever was told by an old Woman to Children and Servants; yet, insensible of so just a Reproof, and of the Baseness and Folly of so miserable a Fable, he prints it again and again; and doubtless will continue so to do, as long as he continues so incorrigible: *For, if any Man reproaches me, says he, I will despise and contemn him.* A short way of answering all Objections; and, I am afraid, the best we are to expect from him.

To prevent any rude Assaults of Remark and Criticism, he draws a Circle round himself and his History. All within is holy Ground, and the Profane must not approach. But he hooks in the Lord *Clarendon* and the *Grand Rebellion* to bear him Company, expecting that such Names would add to the Conjurament, and hinder any one's attempting to break the Charm. Indeed, if I

INTRODUCTION

had not been well acquainted with other Histories as well as theirs, I durst not have ventur'd upon them after his Defiances. But as it is, they are very harmless, and the big Words have no more effect than so much empty Air. *I never unbandsomely treated or blackened him,* the Earl of Clarendon, who has whiten'd the Lord Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and every Name that was lifted in the same Cause; *as has been done by several insolent or ignorant Writers of late.* Wou'd one not take him to be the very Pink of Modesty and Knowledge? *His Work has been inhumanly struck at by bold and desperate hands.* Here is bold and desperate, insolent and ignorant; downright calling of Names, rather to shew what all that dare meddle with him must look for, than what such as have meddled with him, deserve. The Reader is bully'd here, not so much to vindicate the Lord Clarendon, as to shew how he shall resent any thing that may be said in diminution of *his own* Glory. He adds, *This not only confirms what is more generally known,* that the noblest Writers can never be free from Faults or Censure. Himself is one of these most noble Writers. *But discovers such a Malignity, as, if once let loose, is sufficient to darken the very Intellects;* the sure Effect of reading his own History; *as well as infect the Morals of the Nation.* To shew the Errors and Mistakes in my Lord Clarendon's Works, or his, is enough to make Men Fools and Villains. *If He be thus treated, how shall I escape?* If Reason and Truth be let loose, *In such Cases nothing can protect an Author, but Contempt and Obscurity.* When Contempt and Obscurity go together, there is no great harm in it; but when Contempt follows Infamy, and the more a Man is known, he becomes the more Contemptible, it is a very hard Fate. By this Air the Historian would have you believe, that none but a parcel of pityful worthless Wretches had ever a word to say against his Performances. Thus does he triumph in generals, when in particulars he is every where beaten out of the Field.

Some may imagine that Envy or Jealousy provok'd me to this invidious Task. But they may perceive by my Opinion of the Historian's Work, that I could not well be jealous of the Workman. The truth is, I have no personal Prejudice or Pique against Mr. Echard. On the

INTRODUCTION.

v

contrary, I wish him as well as any Man, taking him in any other Capacity than the Author of the History of *England*. But I can't compliment him at the Expence of our Constitution, nor help exposing those Errors, whether of the Will or the Judgment, which, if suffer'd to take Root, would in time weaken the Foundations of our present happy Establishment in Church and State. So far is the Historian from repenting of the Injury he has done it, that he seems to value himself upon it, and make a Merit of his Zeal for Spiritual and Arbitrary Power, under the Name of the Church. 'Tis very easy for me to prove that fair notice was given of his Partiality and Prevarication while his Book was at the Press; and that it was offer'd to drop any such Undertaking as this, if he would but make the Publick Reparation, by retracting his Mistakes, wilful, or otherwise. He has often been call'd upon to set things right. More pains have been taken with him that way, than with any other Historian, out of an Opinion that his Judgment has been more in fault than his Will: But what regard has he had to Remark and Animadversion? His Behaviour has been such, as if he thought himself infallible, or was harden'd against Reproof and Censure. I have in the first Part given some account of the Authors from whom he took his Memoirs, and made some Observations on the Vanity of his Prefaces. I shall here be a little more particular. Speaking in his last Preface of his *Shortsightedness, Errors, or Negligence, whereby he has given just Offence either to particular Parties, or private Families*, he adds, *I declare in all such cases, both in this and the following Volume, upon due information, and a reasonable Proof of the Mistake, I shall be so far from being tenacious in the wrong Notions of Honour and Humour, that I shall most readily and publickly recant and retract any Error. And this free Offer I make out of a true Sense of Honour, and of what a Writer is obliged to by the strictest Tyes of Conscience.* Here he reserves to himself the Decision of what is *due Information and reasonable Proof*. For instead of retracting, or recanting any one Mistake or Error, he tells us plainly, in his Preface to *Hist. Revol.* that he will *answer no expected Reparation*; and were he inclin'd to do it, he must either disown his Book,

INTRODUCTION.

or write another as big, to unsay what is said in it, charg'd with Prevarication and Misrepresentation, to make no worse of it. He continues thus, *I speak not out of Dread, Apprehension, or Regard to the Usage I may meet with from any Man living.* Before this, he had boasted, *he was never destitute of Honesty or Courage; that he will give up no part of his Integrity.* And truly, I would not thank him for the Present. *That he has writ boldly,* ('tis granted; So he has) *without any views of obliging or provoking any Man.* He must suppose his Readers to be all Stoicks, and neither to be provoked or obliged. *That Impartiality has always been his Aim.* Well said, Mr. Archdeacon! The Saint and Martyr on one side, the Rogue and Rebel on the other, are admirable Instances of this Impartiality of yours; as will appear, if you had Leisure or Condescension enough to turn over the following Treatise.

Our Historian begins to shew you what he would be at, in his Introduction to the Reign of *Charles the First*, when the Mismanagements and Miscarriages *had no threatening Consequence.* The raising of Money without Consent of Parliament; the imprisoning, begging, and torturing Men of Honour and Honesty by illegal Processes; the persecuting of the most Pious of the Clergy, for not encouraging the Profanation of the Sabbath; and many hundred more such *Miscarriages and Mismanagements*, had with him *no threatening Consequence* at all. This is the Man of Integrity and Honour, who wrote to oblige no Party!

The Parliament of *England* has seldom had a good Word from *these Men.* What says one of their Poets,

*Nor Senates, insolently loud,
Those Ecchoes of a thoughtless Crowd.*

The same Author, *Dryden*, whose Politicks our Historian has highly commended, says in his *Conq. Granad.* in the Person of the *Moorish King*,

*See what the many-headed Beast demands!
Curs'd is that King whose Honour's in their hands.
In Senates either they too slowly grant,
Or saucily refuse to aid my Want;*

Curs'd

INTRODUCTION.

vii

*Curs'd be their Leaders who their Rage ferment,
And veil with publick Good their Discontent.*

These Men are constant in this way of thinking ; and the Representative of *England* has always been thus treated by them ; unless there were any such good Acts a-foot, as those that were the Happiness of the Restoration. The Repealing of which, was the Glory of the Revolution.

The Historian assures you, they had never much Power, *excepting in tumultuous and necessitous Times, when the badness of the King's Titles accidentally encreased their Authority.* By the Badness of the King's Titles, he means a *Revolutional Right* : The Right by which King *William*, Queen *Anne*, and King *George* have reign'd so gloriously to Themselves and the Nation. He declares, that he has not one wrong Insinuation in all his History. And whether he does not here insinuate that the Parliament had never any Power but when the King had no Title, let the Reader determine. If it be so, what a Compliment is this to both King and Parliament ! His Observations on Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign are almost all Sophistry and Prevarication. He abuses the Members of the House of Commons after her Decease, by a Panegyrick on those that sate in her Life-time. He commends her Conduct for having *few Parliaments, and not giving them Time to combine, nor Leave to examine her Prerogative, or censure her Ministers.* The House of Commons consisting generally of grave and discreet Persons. Very good. But he does not observe that she made no such ill use of her Prerogative as did King *Charles I.* nor employ'd Ministers who deserv'd Censure, as *Laud* and *Strafford* did. What follows, is the Character of the House of Commons by whom *Strafford* and *Laud* were censured : *Factionous and ambitious of Fame, who came with a malevolent Spirit of Contention ; that is, who drew up Remonstrances against Grievances, and Petitions for Redress ; who would not tamely submit to the Tyranny of ill Ministers, but contend with them for the Preservation of Liberty and Property.* Which is what the Archdeacon terms a *Spirit of Contention* ; but

INTRODUCTION.

He does not *prevaricate* nor *insinuate*, He is always sincere and impartial.

King James I. says he, *was very sagacious and discerning, and of a nice Understanding in the Nature of Government.* How does He know all this? *Wilson* and *Osborn*, who were contemporary with that King, have not one word of it. Has he himself given us one Instance during the whole Course of his Reign, which discovers that *sagacious* and *discerning* Judgment, or that *nice Understanding*. Again, he had *several valuable and amiable Qualities*. But of all the Parliaments he held, he only parted with one upon *amicable Terms*. A sure Token of *amiable* and *valuable Qualifications*, of *Sagacity* and *Discernment*!

The Historian's Reflections are generally made up of Assertions; and when you examine into the particulars, you find them to be as false in Fact as in Argument. Was King James's making a scandalous Peace with *Spain*; his abandoning the Protestant Interest, with his Son-in-law at the head of it, in *Germany*; his being amus'd by the *Spaniards* for several Years, with a fraudulent Treaty of a Match with the *Infanta*; his putting Sir *Walter Ralcygh* to death fifteen Years after Sentence; Were these the Effects of Discernment and Sagacity, of valuable and amiable Qualifications? I must write the History of this Reign, if I would mention all the other like Effects of them; as *Loans*, *Privy-Seals*, *Benevolences*, *Monopolies*, &c. The Historian concludes, *However, of this we are certain*, and that's as good as if his Readers were, *his Failings have been unreasonably represented, and unmeasurably aggravated by the Tongues and Pens of ignorant*, (he will not let any body know any thing but himself) *as well as malicious Men*. I am willing to take my Place among his ignorant Men, Mr. *Wilson* and Mr. *Osborn* being of the Company; for by *unreasonable* and *unmeasurable*, is to be understood Truth and Boldness, which the Historian's tools have offended him with.

Inconsistency and Contradiction are two of the distinguishing Characters of his History. He seems sometimes to have forgotten what he is about, and what he had said before. A Page or two after he has declaimed upon King James's Capacity and Discernment, he tells us,

INTRODUCTION.

ix

us, he was *inconsiderate*, and instead of being *amiable*, that he was *distasteful* to his *Nobility*. The Enormities of his Administration are treated by the History Writer as Peccadillo's. Thus his profuse Grants and unaccountable Promotions are only *exceptionable things*. His Monopolies, Benevolences, Loans, Privy-Seals, &c. only *displeasing* to Some in the Nation, as it cross'd their *Humours*. Taking away Men's Money from them, sending them to Jail, or pressing them for Soldiers, is enough, surely, to cross the Humours of the best-humour'd People in the World, especially in *England*; where they have taken a particular Fancy to be govern'd by Law. He then acknowledges, that K. James's bestowing extravagant Favours on his Minions, *discontented* the antient Lords, and Gentlemen of great Families and Fortunes. That the antient Families were again *disgusted* with his Degree of *Baronets*; and that, as discerning and sagacious as he was, his *Conduct* could not easily be accounted for by the Rules of *Reason and Policy*. However, there was nothing in all this, but the *Fears of the People*; and the Discontents and Jealousies were only among *turbulent Spirits*. That it was not then known how *far the King might stretch his Power*. Excellently well said! They had not *Magna Charta*, nor *Acts of Parliament*; so uncertain were the Limits of the Prerogative, it was not then known whether a King might not lawfully take away a Man's Estate or Liberty without Act of Parliament. Towards the close of his Introduction, the Archdeacon again sinks all the Misfortunes of his Government, and imputes them once more to the Fears of the Multitude, who were such Blockheads as to believe, that the Plundering them, the Jailing them, the Pressing them, were Instances of Arbitrary Power. But, alas! they did not know what was done to them; *it was above their Capacity*, says Mr. Echard; and yet a few Lines before, he tells us, the People too were *sagacious*, as well as the King; though there is no great need of much *Sagacity* to find out that a Man is hurt who feels it; and Sense is the best Proof which any Grievance is capable of.

The Introduction to his last two Volumes begins as pompously as some small Dealers in Poetry begin their *Epicks*. He promises to treat of the Miscarriages in the

INTRODUCTION.

the Reigns of King *Charles I.* King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* by deducing the Causes of their Misdiministration from the Seeds of Vice and Folly, which are in the very Being of human Nature. *We are to view the vast Body of Mankind, &c.* What has all this Declamation to do more with Those Times, than with All Times of Oppression and Tyranny! We had heard enough of weak and obstinate Princes, of corrupt and cruel Ministers, bigotted and lordly Priests; and I do not think those Reigns the more excusable for that there had been a *Tiberius*, a *Sejanus*, a *Dunstan*, or a *Becker*, in other Times and Places. He informs us, that there have been such sort of Men; and that there are such things in the World as Pride, Arrogance, Revenge, Vanity, Popularity, Avarice, Luxury, Craft, Levity, Jealousy, Enthusiasm, Superstition, Partiality, and Folly. We ought to be thankful to him for his Information; such things being so rarely to be met with. But in what do the Pride, Arrogance, Luxury, Superstition, &c. of the Ministers in those Reigns differ from those Vices in Men of the like Stations and Dispositions, in the Reigns of other Princes, unless there was something in them more awkward and unaccountable. But this Author having put himself at the Head of all Historians, defying all Remark and Criticism, talks big, and sets furiously out like the *French Poet*

*Je chanteray la Guerre
Qui firent les Titans, au Maître du Tonnerre.*

“ I sing the War the Giants wag’d with Jove.

But those Giants had not a more headlong Fall from Heaven to Earth, than the Poet from his *Epick* Height to the humble Level of *Elegy*. Such Authors mistake the Wind of Vanity, by which they are blown up, for that divine Spirit which animates a fine Genius.

*When you begin with so much Pomp and Show,
Why is the End so Little and so Low?*

Roscom.

The

INTRODUCTION.

xi

The Archdeacon closes this notable Introduction with a *View of the State of Religion*, and informs us, that the Church of *England*, when King *James I.* came to the Crown, *shone with that Splendor, that it became the Envy and Wonder of Christendom*; but was afterwards soon attack'd by two *Enemies*, the *Roman Catholics* and *Puritans*. I have observed in the first Part, how fond this Writer is of a *shewy Church*, and how he frequently delights himself with its *Splendor*, tho' the very Essence of it is *Humility, Simplicity, and Purity*. *These Men* have a pleasant way with them to turn the Arguments and Sayings of their Opponents against Themselves. The Dissenters from the Establishment used to say, *That Religion suffered between Popery and Prelacy*; and now the Archdeacon crucifies the Church between *Popery and Puritanism*. We shall prove elsewhere, that the first Reformers did not think their Work done, and that their Adversaries, not being so well able to confound their Arguments, as to turn them into Ridicule, made a Jest of the whole Business, and laugh'd at the Phrase *Thorough Reformation*. Among these Laughers, tho' the Subject does not at all seem laughable, we find the Reverend Author. The *Puritans* charged the Church with want of a *Thorough Reformation*. The very Cant of the Champions for Superstition in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign. He afterwards intimates, that *Puritanism* ow'd its Rise to the Subtilty and Craft of the *Papists*, who mingled among them in disguise. This is a foolish stale Calumny, as full of Weakness as Malice, and he is forced to give it up a Line or two after. *It cannot be said that they are the real Founders of Puritanism*. Yet in the next Line of all, he assures us, *Nalson* has given *incontestible Evidence that the Papists were Promoters of Puritanism*. The poor Character of his *Nalson* would give one pity for him, who has so slavishly follow'd him, if he had not declar'd he would never make *Reparation* for whatever Mischief was done by it. *These Puritans*, according to him, were for introducing a *novel Discipline*, a way of Church Government, Doctrine, and Worship unknown to the Apostles and Primitive Christians; which is as true as most of his Assertions, and that surely is enough to justify it. Indeed by looking into that

INTRODUCTION.

that incomparable Treatise, entitled, *An Enquiry into the Constitution of the Primitive Church, &c.* we shall find that the Doctrine and Discipline of the Puritans are as old as Christianity; and by looking into Ecclesiastical History, we shall every where learn that almost all those Christians that were sensible of the Corruptions of the *Romish* Church, and reform'd their own, did it on a *Puritan* bottom. They renounced the Tyranny of the Papal *Hierarchy*, the Idolatry and Superstition of the Church of *Rome*, which was reckon'd to be the only Catholick for near one Thousand Years, tho' it is very plain that Men truly Wise and Religious did never look upon that splendid reigning Church, from which Mr. *Echard* is so desirous to derive our Establishment, to be the Church of Christ, but those Christians whose Faith and Manners had no other Rule than the Holy Scriptures. As much as the Archdeacon has *John Fox* in contempt for his Puritanism, I am not ashamed to make use of his Sentiments in the matter of Religion, being entirely satisfy'd that the Reader will not think the worse of him, as *A. Wood*, the *Oxonian*, does, for being Author of the Book of *Martyrs*, where he tells us, *The true Church of Christ was poor and persecuted, and for a long Season trodden under Foot, neglected in the World, and, what has special Relation to our Reverend Author, not regarded in History, but almost always scarce visible or known to worldly Eyes; yet hath it been the true Church only of God; wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto, continually stirring up from time to time faithful Ministers, by whom always hath been kept up some Sparks of his true Doctrine and Religion.* Thus it appears that while those that pretended to hold their religious Possessions and Powers in a Succession from the Apostles, made a glaring Light, and outshone all Churches before and since, in Mr. *Echard's* Splendors, the true Church was preserved in some Sparks of Divinity only, and its Light scarce visible to worldly Eyes. The *Martyrologist* speaks of the other Church in Terms very agreeable to the Archdeacon's Definition of one. *The Descent of the right Church hath been lacking in most Party-Histories, and is in Mr. Echard's as if it never had had a Being; partly out of Fear, partly out of Ignorance, by which means Men*
could

could not discern rightly between the one and the other ; they beholding the Church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the Eyes of all the World, so shining in outward Beauty, to bear such a Port, to carry such a Train and Multitude, and to stand in such high Authority, supposed the same to be the only right Catholick Mother. The other, because it was not so visibly known in the World, was charged, as soon as she appeared, with bringing in a novel Discipline. They thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Christ, wherein they were far deceived. This is not my present Business, and I shall enlarge no more upon it ; only observe, that all Writers of Mr. *Echard's* Stamp glory much in a Title to the same Splendors and Lustre as in the visible Hierarchy spoken of by *Fox* ; and always assert with great Assurance, that the only true Church which he opposes to the other, whenever any of its divine Sparks appear, are *broaching Novelties*, and possess nothing of the Apostolical Rights, such as *Spiritual Courts*, Dignities, Revenues, and the whole Pomp and Magnificence which the Archdeacon seems to think are the Essence and Glory of a Church ; tho' the true one was scarce visible from the Apostles days to the Reformation. And then, to imitate the *Roman Catholicks*, who have nothing for them but Antiquity, *these Men* derive their Church from the very same *St. Paul* and *St. Peter* whom the *Romanists* pretend to be descended from in spiritual Genealogy. They would very fain have the same Ecclesiastical Fathers, but the Papists will not let them. I have elsewhere observed that they have coax'd and complimented them to no purpose. The *Romanists* will not part with a Link of the Chain. The Historian complains that they still charge them with Schism and Apostacy, and will not allow two Catholick, two Universal, and two Infallible Churches. For if we had liv'd in *Laud's* time, and had ask'd him the Question, he would have asserted, that His was the only Catholick, Universal, and Infallible Church. True it is, it differs much less from the Pope's other Catholick, Universal, and Infallible Church, than from the Protestant Church of *England* as reform'd by Bishop *Hooper*, Bishop *Latimer*, Bishop *Grindal*, Bishop *Horn*, Bishop *Ferwell*, &c. This is the Church of Christ spoken of by the
Mar-

INTRODUCTION.

Martyrologist. These were all Puritans, or Favourers of Puritanism; and as such, are charged by Mr. *Echard* with being fond of a *novel Discipline*, there being not one of these religious Fathers that would have been ashamed of, or disown'd the Character. All the Members of this Church endeavour to conform their Lives to their Doctrine, and then the Purity of it will necessarily appear in their Morals. The Lovers of Pomp and Magnificence call'd this Purity, Hypocrisy; and *Puritan* became a By-word, and a Mark of Contempt. Mr. *Echard* says, the *Romanists* affected a *supercilious Sanctity*; and there were none, in the Opinion of *these Men*, truly Catholick and Orthodox, but those that might justly have been charg'd with every Vice but Hypocrisy. They have, 'tis true, in all times been far from being *Hypocrites*, tho' it had been better for Religion and Morals if they had been so.

The Historian having reduced the true Protestants in *England* to a Party, produces *Cambden* as his Warrant, who tells us that the *Nobility thirsted after the Patrimony of the Church*. The *Patrimony* of St. Peter at *Rome*, I have heard much of, and that it is pretended to be a Grant of *Constantine the Great*; whereas it is more likely to be the Gift of the Widow *Maud*, an *Italian* Dutches, in wrong to her Family, as were most of the Gifts to religious Houses in *England* in wrong to the Families, which were frequently impoverished by such Donations. Notwithstanding this, *Cambden*, *Dugdale*, *Collier*, *Wharton*, and others, cry out against the *Lairy's* recovering those unwarrantable *Alienations*, as *Sacrilege*, and call them the *Patrimony of the Church*; tho' the Monks, Friars, &c. were no more the Church than the Clerks and Sextons. I know very well there are Glebes and Tenements, Lands and Houses, Payments and Stipends settled by the Laws of *England* on several Ministers under several Denominations; and much good may it do them. But God knows these are not, of themselves, the Church of Christ, which has no visible *Patrimony*, which needs none, desires none, and is contented with the Inheritance her Lord our Saviour has promised her in His Kingdom, which is not of this World.

I should not be displeas'd to have the handling of this Matter on a proper Occasion, to prove the *Puritans*
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to be the true Protestant Church of *England*, and as antient as Christianity itself. The Reader need only compare their Doctrine and Manners with those of the *Waldenses*, who, says *Tallent* from Archbishop *Usher*, came not from *Waldo* of Lyons, who liv'd about the Year 1250, but from *Constantine's*, nay from the Apostles days, and separated from *Rome* Anno 803. Thus will be seen how well grounded the Archdeacon's novel Discipline is.

Antiquity of itself justifies nothing. Error is never the more warrantable for being of old Date. How would Dr. *Waterland* treat that *Arian* who should offer to vindicate his Faith by the Oldness of it? And because the *Oecumenical* Council of *Laodicea* were *Arians* almost 1400 Years ago?

I doubt not the Historian was extremely fond of the Authority of *Cambden* against the *Puritans*. I shall always be ready to do Homage to *Cambden's* Learning and Labour; but I cannot idolize him, as Mr. *Echard* and his Admirers do. I find in him much of the old Leven of Superstition, and believe he was as great a Friend to Popery, as he was an Enemy to *Puritanism*. The *Papists* look'd upon him as their own, only he was withheld by his Offices and Salaries from declaring for them; as we may perceive by what the Popish Author of the *Analeſta* of *Ireland* says, *Deluſus ſpe huius ſeculi & Mundani Honoris Lenocinio*. He then disparages his Performances, and of his *Britannia* says, *Uno Oculo Scotos illeſtus, cæcus Hiberſenas*; As to *Scotland* he has but one Eye, as to *Ireland* he is quite blind. Whatever the *Iriſhman* has ſaid of the *Britannia*, the Work was good for a beginning. There have ſince been many Opportunities of improving it, and there will be many more, as faſt as the Accounts of particular Counties and Places are publiſhed.

Mr. *Echard*, in another Paragraph of his Introduction, commends Queen *Elizabeth's* Lenity. Her Maxim was never to force Men's Conſciences; and two or three Lines after he tells us, ſhe was ſevere to *Diffenters* from the Church, even to the taking of Life, as in the caſe of Mr. *Penry* of *Oxford*, whole Tragedy is mentioned in the firſt Part. Here's Conſiſtency again, Clemency and the Gallows!

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The Historian's Preface to the third Volume is a *Nonpareille*, and there are Curiosities in it no where else to be met with. He begins with the Characters of King Charles II. and King James II. who, says he, very positively, were excellently well fitted and qualified by Nature and Education for their exalted Stations, and so well prepared and seasoned by Adversity and Opposition, as to make themselves and their People great and happy. Diametrically opposite to this, is the late Bishop of Salisbury's Character of King Charles. That of King James was so poor, that hardly any Historian has deign'd to meddle with it. I believe every one will rather take a *Frenchman's* word for it than the Archdeacon's. The *French* look'd upon him in France as a Confessor for their Religion. Their ador'd Monarch had spent 100 Millions in his Quarrel, and he was actually then maintain'd by him, together with his whole Family; yet the Author of the *Annales de la Cour & de Paris* writes thus of him, *Il ny s'estoit estime ne aime que de peu des Personnes parce qu'il ny en avoit gueres qui ne fussent persuadez qu'il ny fut plus propre mille fois pour un Convent, que pour remonter sur la Trone.* "He was neither esteem'd nor belov'd but by very few Persons, because there were very few who did not take him to be a thousand times more fit for a *Convent* than to reascend the Throne." Mr. *Eckard*, contrary even to the *Frenchman* too, assures us he was excellently well fitted and qualified to reascend it.

I have every where affected to take my Authorities in the negative to his History from *Papists*, or their Abettors, that he might have no Exception to them. It is easy to perceive why he is so fond of those two Princes; why he is so singular in his Panegyricks upon them. They both persecuted Protestant Dissenters, and indulg'd the Instruments they made use of in their Rage and Cruelty. Whoever has encouraged such Practices, are sure of his good word. That he may not be followed here, he boasts of the Decency of his Conduct in Sentiment and Expression, with respect to the two Royal Brothers. He has consider'd them chiefly according to the Dignity of their Offices. He has been fearful of examining and exposing their private Vices and Extravagancies, by which they were so excellently well fitted and

and qualify'd for Government. *Decency commands to throw them into Shades. To search into their Recesses is presumptuous.* One would think this Writer is the best Pattern of good Breeding, since he teaches that all the Rules of Historical Censure must rather be broken, than any thing be said that is grating and uncourty. Enough of that kind has dropt from his Pen, when he speaks of such as opposed the Male-administration of those two Reigns, whether in Parliament, or out of it. For more than once has he laid *Faction* and *Rebellion* to the Charge of the most August Assembly in the World, as will be prov'd upon him hereafter. Nothing is more certain than that Railing and Insolence, abusive Language and reproachful Terms, never carry'd the Point they aim'd at. People presently imagine that unfair way of War proceeds from Impotence, from the same Cause which makes the *Turks* throw *Stink-Pots* into a Town, to poison those they cannot conquer. This is the Reason that almost all Mr. *Echard's* Authors are now upon Stalls, or in Trunks and Band-Boxes; and it is very well if he himself is so free from such Impurities as not to follow them. All the Indecencies you meet with in *Heylin, Nalson, Dugdale, Perinckes, L'Estrange, &c.* are highly blameable, and proceed alike from Impudence and Impotence. Kings and Princes are to be treated still with more Management; but the Truth is always to be said of them, and the Example intended by their History to be put into the clearest Light, that it may instruct others in their exalted Station. All Kings and Princes, and all Historians who wrote justly of them, knew this Rule, and have pursu'd and approv'd it. I observ'd in the former Part, what King *William's* Queen *Mary*, of ever-blessed and glorious Memory, said to Dr. *Burnet* in vindication of Monsieur *Jurieu's* speaking some severe Truths of her Ancestor *Mary* Queen of Scots. And I have since met with another the like Passage of that divine Princess, who, hearing some Historians blam'd for reflecting on the Memory of certain Princes, said, *If those Princes were really such as those Historians represented them, they well deserv'd that treatment; and others who tread their steps, might look for the same: For Truth will be told at last.* Contrary to these just and generous Sentiments.

INTRODUCTION

ments, Mr. *Echard* declares, that the Truth must not be spoken, if it intrudes into the Cabinets and Re-cesses of Princes and Statesmen. To this I shall add what one of the two Royal Brothers, who are so carefully skreen'd in his History, King *Charles II.* said to Dr. *Burnet*, when he was writing the *Memoirs of Duke Hamilton*. He told the King, *He should be obliged to speak some things against his Father's Ministers.* His Majesty reply'd, *Such things are unavoidable in History, and you should tell the Truth.* That King express'd himself to the same purpose on another occasion. When the Translation of *Buchanan's History of Scotland* was ready for the Press, the Translator was afraid to publish it. It being about the latter end of King *Charles's* Reign, when *Severity* was the word, he got a Friend to speak of it to the King, and to offer that the Passage concerning *Elizabeth Mure* should be left out; His Majesty cry'd, *Pugh! 'Tis true enough, let it go if he will.* What a heap of Authorities might I produce of Princes and Historians, Antient and Modern, who declared for this freedom of Speech in the Writers of History! It is well known that as great a Tyrant as *Tiberius* was, he put a stop to the Proceedings of the Senate, who, in compliance to his Tyranny, were about to lay a strict Restraint on the Mouths and Pens of the *Romans*. It is as well known that *Tacitus* spares not this Prince, that he exposes his private Vices and Extravagancies; that he searches into his Re-cesses, which Mr. *Echard* calls Presumption. *Machiavel*, the modern *Tacitus*, writes thus in his *Dec. on Livy*; "I do not follow the paths of those that dedicate their Writings to great Princes only; these they elevate to the Skies through a mercenary Baseness, while it may be they are nothing better than *Scelerates*, Rascals." The rudest word in the Archdeacon's List of Epithets does not come up to it. But this is nothing to what he may read in the *Memoirs of the Baron de Brantome*, who had liv'd all his Life-time in Courts and Camps; and, as it is said in the Comedy, must understand *Punctilio to a Hair*. Yet in his ninth Volume, he has these Expressions; *Une infinite de nos Roys Fats, Sots, Tyrans, Feineants, Idiots, Fols, &c.* Let him translate it, if he pleases; I have not enough foul Words for the purpose. Yet he affirm

INTRODUCTION.

xix

affirms positively, no Libellers whatsoever are to be compared with the Revolution Writers.

I shall make no Excuses for using other Authors so much as I intend. It is not to show Reading, nor to fall into Pedantry, which no Man can have a greater Contempt for than my self; but to confirm my own Sentiments by those of other Men, especially Foreigners, whose Judgment cannot be thought to have any Bias from the Truth in favour of what they are to prove for us. Monsieur de Marville, Publisher of the *Melanges d'Histoire*, &c. treats of this very Subject quite differently from the Archdeacon's Introduction. He renders all his *Decencies* and *Decorums* absurd and ridiculous. *Je n'ai gueres trouves des Livres plus utiles pour Instruction*, &c. I have not met with any Books more useful for Instruction, and Correction of Manners, than those that represent the Portraits of Great Men, when those Portraits are not flattering, and we behold them with all their Faults, as well as with all their Graces and Beauties: Their Vices instruct as much as their Virtues. As it is extremely shocking to see a filthy Spot on a fine piece of Silk, so is it to see a filthy Vice in a great Man; and in proportion as we are shock'd by it, we shall be inclin'd to avoid and to fly from it. The Author then instances in Philip de Comines, who in painting Lewis XI. did not do as Mr. Echard has done by the two Brothers, King Charles and King James, sink his private Vices and Extravagancies; but shew'd both sides of him, that every one might learn by so just and natural a Picture the Lesson which is proper for him. Our Author knows better than Philip de Comines what belongs to good Breeding in an Historian, and has more respect for two Kings, whom, perhaps, he never saw, than Philip de Comines had for a Prince whom he had liv'd with, and faithfully serv'd many Years. I shall conclude what I have to offer with respect to Mr. Echard's *Decorums* and *Decencies*, with a passage out of the *Menagiana*; where, instead of condemning the Use of such Materials, as the *Secret History* of Europe is composed of, that polite Author tells us, that *Satyres* and *Lampoons* are necessary to be read by an Historian, who would write sincerely, *Un Recueil de Vaudevilles est un*

INTRODUCTION.

piece de plus necessaire a un Historien qui veut ecrire sincerement.

There never was a good King, or a good Minister, who desired any Flattery, or thought any Decorum just, which concealed, or misrepresented any Truth. The Matter is plainly thus; The *Stanch* Clergy were so tickled with the *Acts* which stung the Dissenters, that in their Sermons and Addresses, in their Writings and Conversations, they paid the two Royal Popish Brothers Worship almost equal to the Deity; and the same Sentiments subsisting still among them, they are asham'd to unsay what was so often, so solemnly, and sometimes so blasphemously said of them. They knew very well a Government founded on Revolution Principles, the Foundation of our present happy Constitution, would protect Spiritual Liberty, as well as Temporal; and therefore, some of them, such as the Historian, who have thriv'd under it, do not attack it directly, but by side Winds, declaring the lineal Descent to be *Unalterable and Divine*; extolling the most rigid and cruel Prelates, as the only true Fathers of our Church; and painting and gilding the Characters of King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* Others of the *Stanch* Clergy renounced their Allegiance to their Rightful and Lawful Sovereigns King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and his present Majesty King *George*, under the pretence of *Scrupulous Consciences*; though I have known some of them who made no Scruple of the *Vices* and *Extravagancies* the Arch-deacon charges the two Kings with. Others of them have taken the Oaths to the Government, and abjur'd the *Pretender*; but have either made a Jest of their Swearing, and call'd it a *Vomit*; or excus'd it, as I hinted in my former Part, by alledging they *swore only in their own Sense*. These wicked Wretches are worse than the Heathens, who had so just a Notion of the Sincerity and Sanctity of an Oath, that when something like this was offer'd in a Play, the *Athenian* Audience rose against it; tho' *Euripides*, one of the Princes of Tragedy, was the Author. The Magistrates summon'd him before them to answer an Accusation, that he had made one of his Actors say, *He swore with his Tongue, and not with his Mind*. *Euripides's* Defence was, *Look to the end of the*
Tra-

INTRODUCTION.

xxi

Tragedy, and you'll find he that said it, is broken upon the Wheel.

In opposition to the Laws, their Oaths, to Reason and common Sense, these *Stanch* Clergymen take hold of all Opportunities to vilify the *Revolution*; and they think they can never do it more effectually and safely, than by declaiming upon the Virtues of the two Royal Brothers, whose Government was so inglorious and so distasteful to all good *English* Men and good Protestants; the exposing of which, Mr. *Echard* terms, *raking into Kennels and Common Shores*. And truly it is very much like it. But then he disclaims any such foul Work himself; and leaves it to *Libellers, and Dealers in Scandal, and to the Writers of Secret Histories, who have taken such Liberties with their Betters, as are hardly to be found in any other part of the World*: Than which nothing can be more untrue; there being more Scandal against the King and Court of *France*, in *Bussy de Rabutin's* Secret History of them, than in the most scandalous Book in the *English* Tongue. The Archdeacon adds, *Many in a free Country take a Pleasure in vilifying and censuring their Superiors*. If he had not done it, it would have sav'd himself and me a great deal of trouble. And by making bold with crown'd Heads, turn Liberty into *Licentiousness*. He should have added, and *Faith into Faction*: For the Jingle of the Initials *L* and *L*, *F* and *F*, seem'd so Eloquent to the rural Priesthood, who drew up most of the Addresses to those two Royal Brothers, that those very Expressions, were the most shining parts of them. The whole Paragraph teems with Qualities, which, in his inferior Writers, he would term Insolence, Vanity, and Ignorance. Having at a Blow knock'd down all that spoke the Truth of King *Charles* and King *James*, he speaks of himself as a true and valuable Historian, who div'd into the rich Mines of Nature. Quaintly express'd, as will be shewn elsewhere.

I have heard that Dr. *F*—— made Oath to the Truth of his Book about the Affairs of *Spain*. If he did all the Business there himself, or saw it done by any one else, 'twas sufficient for him to give such Evidence. But that very Book has an Answer to it. I have read it, and it shocks one to think, how a Book could be answer'd,

to the Truth of which the Author had made Oath. I have also heard of a Project to oblige every Author to swear that he himself did believe what he had written to be true. But I don't think this would answer the end: For, if a Man's Zeal, or his Hire, did put him upon imposing a Falsity on the World, 'twould doubtless harden him enough to make him swear that it was true. Can any one imagine that *Nelson*, *L'Estrange*, the Author of the History of the *Rye-House Plot*, and many other Writers of the same Kidney, would not have sworn to their Histories, as boldly as their Witnesses swore to the Plot?

I have already shewn what Freedoms the Historians, Antient and Modern, took, when they treated of Tyrants, Favourites, Minions, and Ill Ministers. Some of those Writers were Noble, and Men of Quality, who had their Education and Conversation in a Court, and many Opportunities to refine their Sentiments, and acquire a just Delicacy of Thought and Expression; contrary to all which are the Rust of a College, and the Rusticity of a Village; insomuch, that a great modern Critick is of Opinion, an History cannot well be written in the Country, unless the Historian had before acquir'd a sufficient Store of Urbanity and Materials.

Weak and Ill Princes, and their Flatterers, have always dreaded the Liberty of History. King *James I.* not only chid Monsieur *de Thou* for what he wrote against his Mother, *Mary Queen of Scots*, but had *Scioppius* hang'd in Effigy for writing against himself, as we read in *Vassor*. Nay, *Varillas* writes, that when Monsieur *de Thou* the Son, was at the Court of *England*, King *James* reproach'd him so severely for what his Father had written, that it threw him into a Fever. So different were his Thoughts from those of his pious and candid great Grand-daughter, our late most Excellent Queen, Consort to King *William*! But Historians, who have private and interested Views, will always make their Histories look their own way. 'Tis the same thing whether a Writer has a Pension from the Prince, or expects Honours and Riches from what he calls the Church. The Bias will turn as much for the one as the other. Such Writers, says the French Author of *Elemens de l'Histoire*, soon quit the Character of Historians, to assume

assume that of an Orator ; and instead of composing a History, will write a Panegyrick, or some dull Apology: For what else can one expect from an interested Pen? Truth is very rarely brought to Market ; but Flattery very often. In the Archdeacon's History, we have Apology upon Apology ; there is hardly a Page without it. I will not say with *Gregorio Leti*, an Historian should be without Religion, and without Country ; but certainly he ought to be without Passion, and without Party ; unless that Party be his Country and his Religion. Above all, he should be free from Bigotry and Cruelty.

I will take the Liberty to digress here a little about *Monfieur de Thou's* Memoirs, because *King James* furnished him with some of them, particularly those relating to his Mother, and commanded *Casaubon* to assure him that it was every Word true. However, *de Thou* prefer'd *Buchanan's* Account of *Mary Queen of Scots* to *King James's*, notwithstanding *Casaubon* repeated the Assurances he had given him of the Truth of his Master's Materials. *Iussit ergo me Verbis suis rogare, ut huic scriptioni fidem habere ne vereares, omnia sibi lecta, expensa & dijudicata esse.* A Popish Author adds, *Je ne doute point que M. de Thou, judicieux comme il etoit, n'ait eu de raisons pour ne se pas fier au Memoires du Roy Jacques.* I doubt not but so good a Judge as *Monfieur de Thou* was, must have his Reasons for not trusting to the Memoirs of *King James*. Here's a Breach of Decorum ! Not trust the King's own History ; What Credit could one then owe to his Historiographer's ! *King James* the Grandfather was very far from hating Popery ; yet *M. de Thou* would not take his Word, But *King James* the Grandson hated Protestantism as heartily as *Queen Elizabeth* lov'd it ; yet the Archdeacon has made use of his Memoirs at second-hand after the Jesuit *Orleans*, with no little Commendation of them. This *Casaubon* undertook to write a Critique on *Baronius's* Annals ; but one *Mountague*, says the French Author, play'd him *un vilain Tour*, a rascally Trick, and stole away his Plan. This is the very *Mountague* that was made a Bishop for preaching up Arbitrary Power, and he never wants an Encomium, from such Writers as *Heylin* and *Wharton*. The Frenchman adds, he was *un etrange Homme*, a strange Mortal, who abused and

insulted the Learned at pleasure, particularly *Scaliger*; whom he call'd *Preceps Grammaticus*, *Stultus Philosophus*, *Furiosus Mathematicus*. You see the very Papists are asham'd of this *Stanch* Doctor's Ill-Manners and Ill-Principles; and I do not find the least Hint of any such Shame in Mr. *Echard's* Account of him.

In the Paragraph before mentioned, Mr. *Echard* aims chiefly at the Author of the *Secret History of Europe*; by whom I am authorized to tell him, that his Behaviour in it, is equally weak and ungrateful: For besides that the Author had given him several Hints and Notices for his History, which he partly made use of, and partly neglected; the Work itself is built on better Authority than his own, which he wittily tells us was not intended to be *Secret*, and he is ready to prove it, when call'd upon. The same Writer himself intimates why it was he gave it the Title of *Secret*, being so well appriz'd as he is, of the Malice and Presumption too common in such Pieces. He published it at a time when the Heads of the Faction were at the Head of the Government; when the Nation ran a madding after a seditious condemn'd Doctor, and the Truth could not be spoken with safety. His Patrons were then carrying on a Clandestine and Scandalous Treaty with *France*, under the Management of Bishop *Robinson*; and to prevent the People's being deceiv'd by false Pretences, he published the Story of *De Wit*, and his Intrigues with Monsieur *D'Estrades*, the *French* Ambassador, which brought the Republick of *Holland* to the Brink of Ruin. The Reflections for which the Story was written, had two Edges; and the Sharpest was intended against the Betrayers of the common Cause in *England*, in whose Mouths, like the Historian's, were nothing but *Church* and *Hereditary Right*. The first and second Parts were written with this View only; but the uncommon Run of those Pieces, encouraged him to look into the Conduct of the same Faction, before and after his *Era*. He took as much Care to inform himself of the Truth of his Facts, as an Historian, who did not want his Opportunities, could do; and therefore the Archdeacon shews a poverty and inveteracy of Spirit, to use and abuse him as he has done. The Title as well as Subject of *Secret History*

was

INTRODUCTION.

XXV

was not unknown to the *Greeks and Romans*; which I am apt to believe the Archdeacon did not know, nor that *Anecdotes* are almost as old as any other *Histories*, except the *Fabulous*, with which I take him to be pretty well acquainted. *Theopompus* wrote a History of his Time, which was very Satyrical, especially against *Philip of Macedon*, Father of *Alexander the Great*, and his Captains. This was so far from offending the Judgment and Delicacy of *Cicero*, that he promises *Pomponius Atticus* to publish *Anecdotes*, which he himself had composed in imitation of *Theopompus*. Let us see what *Marville* says further on this Subject, *Mel. p. 57.* We are extremely pleas'd to read the SECRET HISTORY of Princes, and to see those Vices expos'd, which Flatterers have disguised by their extravagant Praises. *Suetonius* is in so much Esteem, on account of his discovering to us the Family Failings of some of the Roman Emperors. *Procopius*, it is very well known, expos'd the Irregularities of the Emperor *Justinian*; and is not so much decry'd for his *Anecdotes* as for his Panegyricks; not for breaking into the Recesses of the Imperial Court, and discovering their private Vices and Extravagancies, which so highly offends the Archdeacon's Delicacy; but for writing such a History as his own, and another that I could name, where one side is all Glory and Brightness, and the other all Darkness and Dirt; Gold on the outside, and Lead within. There is an Author who hated the *Presbyterians* as much as the Archdeacon does, and was as much for Arbitrary Power as *Dr. Hickes*, yet he wrote a *Secret History*, at least he gave his Book that Name to recommend it to the World, containing the *Anecdotes* of the House of *Medicis*. This Author was *Varillas*, whose Orthodoxy is not to be question'd; and his only Fault was, that he said nothing but what every body knew before. *Nous apprennons rien que tout le Monde ne sache.* I know a Writer, who, I am afraid, would do the very same thing, were he to write a *Secret History*. We should have no news from him, unless it was about Ghosts, Devils, Prophecies, and Cures; such as the Duke of *Buckingham's*, *Oliver Cromwell's*, Lady *Dacres*, and 'Squire *Great-rakes*; a way of Writing which is performed much better by

INTRODUCTION.

by the ingenious Author of *Strange and surprizing Rarities, great and wonderful Occurrences, &c.*

To prove that the Author of the Secret History had frequent Occasions, from Manuscripts and Report, to get the best Intelligence; he allows me to discover a piece of such *History* which has lately come to him. The Archdeacon being at Dinner with a very great Prelate some time after his last wonderful Work was made publick, a Person at the Table reported, that another Part would be speedily at the Press; upon which an ingenious old Gentleman, who din'd also with the Bishop, and did not know the Archdeacon, cry'd out, *'Tis no matter whether it be ever printed, if it be no truer or better than his other Histories*; or Words to that effect. Having said enough of his Decorums, I shall only add, that they consist chiefly in sinking such Events as would increase the Filth of his *Common Shores and Kennels*, and slurring over what he is oblig'd to take Notice of. I have more than once observ'd, how soft-mouth'd he is when any part of the Grievances in the Four Reigns preceding King *William's*, comes in his way. This he calls *Decorum*; and I met with some of the same kind in a *French Book*, where the Author tells you, 'twas the *Incivility of Judas that damn'd him*; his Breach of *Decorum* in dipping his Hand in the Dish with our Saviour.

There is no Set of Men in the World that has complain'd of the Liberty which they call Licence of Writers, more than the meanest of the Clergy; as in truth there is none that has given more Occasion for it. The late *French King Lewis XIV.* was as Jealous of the *Autorité Royale*, as ever King was; and *Boileau*, as much a Bigot as ever was any Poet, yet being on the Subject of plain Speaking in his *Discours au Roy*, he falls upon the Priests for their opposing this Freedom, at a Time when his Master *Lewis* was most favourable to them.

*And general is the Cry, if aince they bear
A Word against the Bigot's holy Leer:
The daring Piece is monstrous in their Eyes,
The Laws are broken, and attack'd the Skies.
Tho' a false Zeal is even the Pretence,
We see 'tis Truth alone which gives Offence.
Thus with austere Grimace they strive to hide
Their Errors, and conceal their inward Pride;*

INTRODUCTION.

xxvii

*Too well they know they are not Satyr Proof;
And when they scorn the Skies, they dread Tartuffe *
Fearless of Heaven, with secret Joy they err,
Despise the Thund'rer, tho' they dread Moliere.*

A Character of an Hypocrite, in one of Moliere's Plays so call'd.

I have heard of an Observation on my first Treatise of *Critical History*, that it ran too much upon *Priests* and *Priesthood*. Such sort of Observers may read for Amusement, but never for Information. I find them out by this: My Design from the Beginning was to shew the Errors of the Monks in their Histories before the *Reformation*, and of some Ecclesiastical, and other Writers since, who have err'd as much on the same side, that of Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny. They have both written with the same View, to exalt the Dignity and Grandeur of the Priesthood above the Sovereignty, or Legislature, and have advanced Monarchy above the Laws, that the Hierarchy might have more than a Share of its Prerogatives.

Before *Edward* the Sixth's Time, every Parish Priest was the Tyrant of his Parish, and had Soul and Body in his Power; it being very easy for him at pleasure to turn any Claim, or any Offence taken by him, into a spiritual one. To support this Usurpation, they had, besides the Papal Infallibility, and the Decrees of pack'd Synods, *Legends*, *Miracles*, and Historical Fictions. Since the Reign of *Edward VI.* the Church of *England* has reform'd to the Purity of the primitive Times of Christianity; and the Excellence of it has been made to consist in Piety, Simplicity, and a Conformity to the Doctrine, the Faith and Manners of the first Christians. But as there are ill Members, or false Brethren, in all Societies, so in this, the purest and most amiable Society upon Earth, there are too many who place the Excellence of this Church, as *Mr. Echard* does, in a Rivalship to that of *Rome*, corrupted and defiled as she is, with Riches, Powers, Dignities, Magnificence, and Pomp. Most of the inferior rural Priesthood fall intirely in with this *Romish* Rivalship. Wherefore, to oppose this Pomp and Magnificence, these Dignities, Powers, and Riches, and to restore primitive Simplicity and Piety, the divine Intent of the *Reformation*, is an Opposition to the Splendid Church in the Times of
Whitgift,

Whitgift, Bancroft, Laud, Sheldon, &c. They have not, however, so much Devotion even for this Church of Splendors, as to forget themselves ; but as often as their Interest or Ambition are flatter'd by it, they set that very Church aside, and put themselves in her place. They themselves are then the Church and the Government ; and to write against them, is to write against one's *Betters* and *Superiors*. When, I say, they make themselves the Government, it is in such Junctures as when the Archdeacon's favourite Statutes were in Force, and supported them in persecuting and oppressing our Protestant Brethren. At other times, Men may write and preach against their *Superiors* and *Betters*, may plot and fight against them, may dethrone and assassinate Princes, without Breach of Decorum : As those Scandals of the Priesthood *Collier, Cook, and Snart* declar'd in their absolving two Traytors, Sir *Will. Perkins* and Sir *John Friend*, at the Gallows. These factious Preachers and Writers cannot defend their Cause with Reason and Truth. Instead of these lawful Weapons, they make use of Falshood and Insolence ; and, to cut all short, tell you they write for the Church. Nay, that they are the Church ; and to say a word against them, is Profaneness and Sedition. I am as sensible as any Man of the Reverence due to the Order. Their having the Care of Holy Things upon them, requires Respect, and forbids Insult ; but when they renounce that Care, and set their Hearts wholly on Things quite opposite to their Sacred Calling, such as Pride, Avarice, Oppression, and Cruelty, they forfeit all the Privileges and Immunities due to their Vocation. I have been cautious in my first Part to distinguish the Good from the Bad, tho' there was no need for distinction. The Good will not find themselves in any of these Representations, neither will they think they are at all concern'd in them, as really they are not ; and as for the Bad, their Principles and Manners expose them to too much Contempt for any one to value their Resentment. It would be a pleasant thing to pull off your Hat to a Man because he bids you ; or, as Soldiers, Exercise at Command : and there never was, and never will be a Man of Virtue and Worth, who had not, or will

INTRODUCTION.

xxix

will not have the Respect and Deference from such as one would covet to be respected by.

I should not have ventur'd to have made use of Mr. *Dryden's* Authority on this Subject, had he not written on the same side with Mr. *Echard*, I mean against the *Dissenters*, the Bill of *Exclusion*, the *Popish Plot*, &c. In his *Preface to the Fables*, he has something *à propos* to what we are upon. "I cannot blame *Chaucer* for
" inveighing so sharply against the Vices of the Clergy
" in his Age. Their Pride, their Ambition, their
" Pomp, their Avarice, their Worldly Interest deserv'd
" the Lashes which he gave them. Neither has his
" Contemporary *Boccace* spar'd them; yet both those
" Poets liv'd in much Esteem with good and holy Men
" in Orders. For the Scandal which is given by particular Priests, reflects not on the sacred Function.
" *Chaucer's* Monk, his Canon, and his Friar, took not
" from the Character of his good *Parson*. A Satyrical
" Poet is the Check of the Lay-Men on bad Priests.
" We are only to take Care we involve not the Innocent
" with the Guilty in the same Condemnation. The
" Good cannot be too much honour'd, nor the Bad too
" coarsely used; for the Corruption of the best becomes the worst."

In the Character of the good *Parson* he has explain'd this Matter further, and I beg the Reader to compare this Picture with that of *Laud* inthron'd in the Judgment Seat in the High-Commission and Star-Chamber Courts; that of Dr. *Fuxon* riding in Cavalcade as Lord High Treasurer of *England*; or that of Dr. *Robinson* at the head of the Treaty of *Urrecht*.

The Prelate for his holy Life, he priz'd;
The worldly Pomp of Prelacy despis'd.
His Saviour came not with a gaudy Show,
Nor was his Kingdom of the World below.
Patience in Want, and Poverty of Mind,
These Marks of Church and Church-men he design'd,
And living taught, and dying left behind.
The Crown he wore was of the pointed Thorn,
In Purple he was crucify'd, not born.
They who contend for Place and high Degree,
Are not his Sons, but those of Zebedee.

These

INTRODUCTION.

These things consider'd, I wish the Historian had explain'd what he meant by Superiors and Betters. I hope it was not Dr. *Nelson*, Dr. *Brady*, &c. nor any one who owes his Education to the Charity of a College. He will allow, that the Degrees acquir'd there, are only respectable when they are accompany'd with Merit; and 'tis *Courtesy* only which gives them an Equality with Birth and Descent. All these Matters are Trifles, I own, and the Reader does not expect a Discourse of Heraldry; but the grand Airs of the Historian deserv'd Animadversion: and what is said, is to prepare the way for the honest Liberty I intend to take, where I find his History faulty.

If by *Superiors* and *Betters* he means the Government; it is in Defence of it that I am writing: If the Characters of the four Kings who reign'd after Queen *Elizabeth*, I must remember him, that *Tyranny* is the greatest of all Levellers; that Cruelty and Injustice render the highest Characters odious; and to be hated, is a worse Condition than to be despis'd. The Period he writes of, he has justly enough compar'd to *Kennels* and *Common Shores*. But by whom was it defiled? Of what did the Filth consist? Was it not illegal Taxes, barbarous Punishments, arbitrary Persecutions, and the like? Was it not Bigotry, Ceremony, Superstition, and the most dreadful Severity, supported by Favour and Power? If these are stirr'd, there will be a Stench; and which is most eligible? to bear it a while, by laying the Filth open, or by crusting it over with Mr. *Echard's* just *Decorums*, preserve it as a Store of Rottenness and Corruption, ready for the same Uses they were put to under the Ministry of *Villiers*, *Laud*, *Strafford*, &c. I take no delight in their Names, and would never name them, was I not forc'd to it by the Subject.

It is a miserable Dilemma *these* stanch *Men* have brought themselves into; they rashly advanced certain absurd and destructive Tenets, to build upon them an Independency on the State: They preached them up as the most important Doctrine in our Religion, and asserted, that all opposition to them was damnable. They stretch'd the Royal Authority to serve their own by its Assistance, and declared, That to resist the very
Name

Name of it only, tho' for the Preservation of Body and Soul, was an unpardonable Sin. This did not satisfy them. The Reversion of the Punishments, they thought, would have no more influence on others, than the Reversion of the Reward had on themselves. For which Reason they began with them in this World, and deliver'd them over in *High Commission Courts, Star-Chamber Courts, Spiritual Courts, &c.* to the Executioner, to be hang'd, scourg'd, dismember'd, and mangled. As such mad Work could not last long, and Truth, Law, and Liberty, have prevail'd since the *Revolution*, they have no hopes of recovering their Domination, but by deceiving People with false Arguments and false Reports. Thus, as the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnson* said of them, *These Men are endeavouring to destroy their Country once more, to justify their having before destroy'd it*; or, as is said more merrily of *Dryden*,

*Enjoin'd a Penance which is too severe,
For playing once the fool, to persevere.*

If the Historian speaks his Mind, when he boasts of Sincerity and Impartiality, 'tis a plain Proof he either did not know whether his Facts were true or false; or, contrary to his Knowledge, asserted them to be true. Be it the one or the other, I shall not take upon me to vindicate it. The boasting so much of Impartiality and Sincerity, does of itself raise Suspicion. As Men who talk most of their Honesty, and Women of their Honour, are generally most suspected; such Protestations are very common and insignificant, as he could not but have heard. What says *Pere Rapin* of them? *A Man will not prove his Sincerity by Protestations of being sincere, but by shewing in all his Words the Uprightness of his Mind, and the Fairness of his Sentiments.* Mr. *Echard* was so sensible of it himself, that in his Preface to his second Volume, he owns *Assertions and Asseverations of a Man's Probity are to little purpose.*

In the above cited Preface he informs us, he has *enrich'd and enlighten'd his Work by Informations from Persons of unquestion'd Knowledge and Credit, to clear up Difficulties, and invalidate vulgar Stories*; such as the *Ghost* and *Buckingham*, the *Devil* and *Oliver Crom-*

INTRODUCTION.

Cromwell; which have crept into the common Books. His, forsooth, being a Curiosity, and an uncommon one; in which, however, there's more Hearsay, Chit-Chat, and vulgar Stories, than are to be met with in any living History. Where has he clear'd up one Difficulty? where invalidated one Story, but by a worse, and by more difficultys? I have given some Proofs of this already, and shall yet give many more. He adds, He had the Advantage of the Journals of the Lords and Commons, and by the Help of them he has made his Parliamentary Accounts perfect. Tho' I have had as much Advantage of that kind as himself, yet without it I could easily have prov'd that his Parliamentary Accounts are most imperfect, where his Favourite Bills are not going forward. How has he misrepresented those persecuting Acts, the Lord Clarendon's Impeachment, the Debates about the Exclusion, the Earl of Danby's Case; and above all, the Popish Plot. The Author of the Ten Letters address'd to myself, has shewn what Improvements he has made by his Parliamentary Journals, by misrepresenting that Plot from the beginning to the end, and proves him to be so far from Perfection in his Account of it, that he either never saw the Tryals of the Plotters, or conceals what he found there to justify their Conviction. Nay, instead of making his Parliamentary Accounts perfect, he has contradicted the King's Declaration in his Speech, and the Votes and Resolutions of the House of Commons, that there had been a Damnable Conspiracy carry'd on by Papists. He does what he can to destroy the Credit of the Witnesses, and turn the Tragedy into a Farce; yet he affirms in his last Preface, He had been more than ordinarily careful to trace out the Steps. So careful, that he omitted the most considerable Part of the Evidence against the Criminals. Again, he had examin'd that Mystery of Villany into the bottom. He means no more, nor no less, than that the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, pursuant to the Votes of Parliament, was a Mystery of Villany: For to clear the Plotters from being the Villains, he assures us, That after the strictest and closest Examinations, and after a full length of Time, the Government could find very little Foundation to support so vast a Fabrick, besides downright Swearing and Impudence.

*pu*udence. What advantage did he make of the Journals of Parliament! *Not a Gun, Sword, nor Dagger; not a Flask of Powder, nor Dark-Lanthorn.* I shall never see any of his Records: But this, by the Stile, should be stolen from *Roger L'Estrange*. Here he has a fleer at the fifth of *November*; and by his making a mock of *Vaux's* Dark-Lanthorn and the Gunpowder, one may suspect he has as mean an opinion of that Popish Plot, as of this which he is now bantering. He cannot find *one Snip* of an original Letter. *Roger* again! Why does he call it the *Mystery of Villany*, if it was so harmless and unprovided? It is true, the Weapons and the Papers were not actually found upon the Conspirators. *Parson Paul* was not taken with his Sword by his Side, and his Carbine at his Back; but it was sworn, that he was seen in Arms against our most gracious Sovereign, for which he was hang'd: And it was sworn against *Pickering* and *Grove*, that they had screw'd Pistols in the *Park* to shoot the King, and they were fairly hang'd for it. In the *Lord Stafford's* Tryal, there was Evidence, that a Commission was given him in *Father Fenwick's* Chamber, to be Pay-Master-General of a Popish Army of Rebels. This, *Mr. Archdeacon* calls downright Sweating and Impudence. Positive Swearing is always downright, and Evidence cannot have a better Quality. Boldness is one of the Characters of Truth. But the Historian by downright Swearing means downright Perjury; Oaths without Foundation, or even an Appearance of the Fact, and a Front to carry the Swearers thro' with, like that of the *Irish* Evidence, that was hir'd to do my *Lord Shaftsbury's* business. Yet, in his own words, *He has more clearly and regularly traced out the Steps of the Plot, than it is to be found in any one single Writer, and has set it in a better light than it has generally been seen in.* What is the light it has been generally seen in? Why, King, Lords, and Commons, the Lord Chancellor, the Judges, Juries, and almost all the People of *England*, who look'd upon it as a damnable Conspiracy; and the light it stands in, in his perfect, clear, and regular Account of it, is, That it was a confus'd Piece of Imposture, impudently sworn to by a Parcel of perjur'd Rascals. His Wit about the *Gun* and the *Snip* of Pa-

per, may be found also in a Treatise written by a Papist, entitled the *Compendium*, p. 85. published about the Time of the *Popish Plot*; wherein 'tis said, *There hath not been found any ill Letter, any Commission, any Bill of Exchange, any Money, any Arms, any Horses, or any thing else suspicious.*

We are now coming to a Paragraph of his, which contradicts every word he has said on the side of *Arbitrary Power* and *Lineal Descent*: He blesses himself in it for the *Glorious Resistance*, which was the Ruin of the abdicated King and the Popish Cause; and in which, says he, *the Hand of Heaven appeared eminently visible.* The People who took Arms against that weak bigotted King in 1688, had the same Cause as those that were arm'd by the Parliament in 1642. To resist is to resist, let it be King Charles or King James. All the stanch Men, from that time to this, declare and decree, That *Resistance* in any Case whatsoever, is the most damnable of Sins. A Decree to this purpose was made at Oxford the very same Day the belov'd Lord *Russel* was murder'd by them at London: And the Archdeacon not minding that the Hangman had had the handling of that Decree, introduces it with this Recommendation, *The Discovery of the Presbyterian Plot shew'd the absolute Necessity of Passive Obedience, which was equally espoused by the Court, the Pulpit, the Bench, and the Bar; and besides the Arguments brought from the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, &c.* Here's the Laws of God and the Laws of the Land supporting *Tyranny* against *Resistance*; in which the same Author tells us the *Hand of Heaven appear'd eminently visible.* I own he repeats this as the Sentiments of all those that were against the Liberty and Property of the Subject, all those that oppos'd the *Whiggs*; and whether he may be reckon'd among the Number of those Opposers, let the Reader determine, after he has read the following Pages. This Introduction was written before his History of the Revolution was publish'd; and I doubted not, what he said favourably of *Resistance*, was to prepare the way for his History of those Times, when his best Patrons and Benefactors were zealous and active in Practices as opposite to *Passive Obedience*; which, says he, *the Presbyterians had made necessary,*

as Persecution is to Christianity: Yet, notwithstanding all this, he can't forbear dropping a hint of his Detestation of the Doctrine of *Resistance*. *Innumerable Inconveniencies*, to use his own words, *have attended the Revolution*, as some People say; for he will not take the Offence of it on himself: tho' if he had not thought as some People say, he would not have repeated it. This writing for and against in the same Sentence, is what he terms Impartiality and Sincerity; tho' tis easily perceiv'd in which Scale he puts his own Weight.

Immediately after his blessing himself in the Revolution, he attacks all the Lords and Gentlemen, who labour'd to get the Exclusion Bill pass'd, as factious foolish Persons; such as the Lord *Russel*, the late Duke of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Capel*, Sir *William Jones*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Mr. *Boscawen*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Sacheverel*, Mr. *Powle*, Mr. *Thynne*, Mr. *Montagu*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*; and in short, the greatest and wisest Men in the Kingdom; as would appear by the List, if it was not too long to be inserted. *The Bill of Exclusion* is with him a *crude Attempt*, carry'd on by *factious misled Persons*. I'm glad the Reader has some of the Names of them above. To whom does he oppose his most infallible Judgment! To the Sense of the Nation, and to his own Sense five or six Lines before it, and the next Line after; where he wishes *the History of the Revolution was undertaken by some eminent Hand*. He has his Wish, you see; for he has written that History himself, *whose Knowledge and Genius is equal to so noble a Subject*. Here, I think, his Wish is not entirely accomplish'd. He values himself on the Perspicuity and Regularity of his first History of the Revolution at the end of King *James's* Reign; and then quotes his chief Author *Edmund Bobun*, as a Person of Eminence in the learned World; on account, I suppose, of his having published a Geographical History, or rather a *Gazetteer*, in Folio. Why did he not tell us who it was that led those illustrious Patriots by the Nose, as to the Bill of Exclusion, in what did the Faction and Crudity of that Bill consist! He declares it would have involv'd the three Kingdoms in Blood; and therefore was not mature and seasonable. An admirable Politician this! The Parliament of *England*

passing an Act in time of profound Peace, is more likely, according to him, to involve the Kingdom in Blood, than an Army of Foreigners to support an Insurrection, when there was a mighty regular Force a-foot.

God be thank'd, the Confusion and Cowardice of our Enemies, the Enemies to the Bill of *Exclusion*, kept things quiet when the Prince of *Orange* landed, and prevented the Effusion of Blood. But the Prospect of it was more terrible than any Opposition which could have been made to the *Exclusion* Bill, if it had pass'd. It could not pass without the King's consenting to it; and then to have *resisted* it, had been *Rebellion* in the highest degree. Who must have been the *Rebels*? Why the Duke of *Tork* and the Addressers, animated by the most furious, illiterate, ignorant, and immoral of the inferior Priesthood; who would rather have deserv'd to have been whip'd for their Folly, than hang'd for their Rebellion. Such a Resistance was not worth providing against; and as to the Sin of the *Exclusion* Act, Which was most culpable, to vote against the Duke in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, or to fight against him on *Salisbury-Plain*? And the latter would have been his Fate, had he stay'd for it.

These are rare Men at Argument! They have a Privilege which no Arguers ever had before, to say and unsay, assert and deny, to be *Pro* and *Con* without Contradiction or Inconsistency.

When the Historian brags of his Decencies and Decorums, he informs us, *He has been fearful of examining and exposing the two Royal Brothers, and their chief Ministers, as Jefferys in particular. He has consider'd them chiefly according to the Dignity of their Offices.* Whereas his Business was to consider them chiefly according to the *Duty* of their Offices. He has not dilated on their *private Vices and Extravagancies*. This is a fine impartial Writer! He has given you but one Side of them. He will not tell you King *Charles* was wanton, profuse, careless; King *James* bigotted, weak, revengeful, cruel. He will have more Manners; and then King *Charles* was gallant, generous, indolent; King *James* zealous, pious, resolute. Thus the very Nature of Good and Evil is changed by him, and the

Benefit

Benefit to be got by Example lost entirely to the Reader.

'Tis somewhat surprising that a Country Clergyman should know more of Delicacy and nice Breeding, than a *French Courtier*. Monsieur *Rockfort* in his *Memoirs*, speaking of that great Statesman Monsieur *Colbert*, says he was *le plus grand Scelerat que l'on ait vu*, The greatest Rogue that ever was seen. Now I defy the Archdeacon to shew me so coarse an Expression in any one of *his numerous Spawn of Writers since the Revolution*, with respect to the Ministers of the two Kings, whose Virtues he complains they take *no notice* of; the Virtues of King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* I think Bishop *Burnet* has taken notice enough of them; and as to King *Charles II.* has said abundance of things which break in upon Decency more than all the Writers of Secret History. And Mr. *Echard* himself, in the Preface to the last Volume, owns, that King *James II.* was guilty of what has been *disavow'd by Jews, Turks, Pagans, and Infidels*. He means Treachery and Perjury, breaking his Word and his Oath, and that frequently too. However, he minces the Matter, and calls it only a *Blemish of his Reign*. The Freedom of Truth and Plain Speaking, he lays to the charge of the Revolution; and he is cautious of giving into the *Prejudices that have prevail'd of late*, that is, the ill Opinion which all good *Englishmen* have of the Administration in those two Reigns, very well described by Bishop *Burnet*, and others; *Libellers*, and *Dealers in Scandal*, says Mr. *Echard*, and *spawn'd* since the Abdication of King *James*; of which he insinuates it was one very bad Consequence. He assures us there are no such Fellows to be found in any Part of the World, as these *Revolution Writers*, who have barbarously murder'd and mangled those two most glorious Reigns; whereas himself has always serv'd the two Royal Brothers upon the Knee, and, like the Butcher in the Play, cuts up his Meat with a Fork.

The best Instruction we can have as to the Manner of treating the Archdeacon's Heroes and Worthies, is from General *Ludlow*, who knew most of them personally, and all of them by Character; and being a Man of Quality, Learning, Sense, and Experience, must be

able to instruct us in these things better than any one else without those Advantages. "As the Memory of those whose Lives have been remarkable for great and generous Actions, ought to be transmitted to Posterity with the Praises they have deserv'd, that others may be excited to the Imitation of their Virtues: 'Tis as just, that the Names of those who have render'd themselves detestable by the Baseness of their Crimes, should be recorded, that Men may be deterr'd from treading in their Steps, lest they draw upon themselves the same Infamy."

Bishop Burnet goes further, and his Precept is as strong as his Example. *I know no good that History does the World, says he, so much as the making Posterity the wiser, by shewing the Faults of Ministers that raised Discontents.* Mem. D. Hamilt. If he had nam'd Archbishop Laud, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Strafford, &c. he could not have mark'd them better than he has done, without naming them: For there is not a Mortal who ever heard of them at all, but knows that Discontents were raised by the Faults of those Ministers; and consequently no History can do so much Good, as that which exposes them, according to the late Bishop of Sarum.

Our Historian values himself inordinately on his Manuscripts; so did Varillas, who boasted he had rifled the French King's Library: but when he was put to the proof of it, Vassor tells us, his Authorities were generally wretched Writers, or Manuscripts so confused, that nothing could be made of them.

The Historian's Transports and Exultations at the Restoration of King Charles II. are so violent, that he can scarce contain himself; his Spirits are all afloat, and one may perceive that he was as much out of his Wits, as he informs us the rest of the Nation was. How does he prepare us for a Scene of Mismanagement and Disgrace, hardly to be parallel'd in our History! He must needs know, that such a Reign of ill Conduct and Inaction, would furnish him with but sorry Materials; yet, as if he was going to write the History of a Titus or a Trajan, as if the Reign had been as glorious as the one, and as good as the other, he draws the Curtain in expectation of as much Applause, as the most splendid and beautiful

ful Spectacle ever met with. Suppose he had had the Judgment and Integrity of *Tacitus*, might he not have complain'd with that learned and judicious Historian, that he could meet with nothing, unless he would stuff his Book with Shows and Ceremonies, with Titles, Speeches, and Proclamations? Might he not have added with the same *Tacitus*, That he was straitned, and kept down, the Times affording nothing notable, besides the Corruption of Judges, the Incouragement of Informers, Subornations, and malicious Prosecutions, Treachery and Trapannings, new sorts of Treason devised, and the Laws, made for the People's Security, turn'd into Snares and Gins, to catch and destroy the Brave and the Virtuous, and all such as are like to resent or stem the Inundation of Villany ready to overflow the Land. The Word Villany being a Breach of Mr. *Echard's* Decorums, I must inform the Reader, 'tis the Earl of *Anglesey's* Translation of *Tacitus* in his Preface to *Whitlocke*. That noble Author takes from the same Roman Historian what he writes of the Matter and Manner of writing Histories in former Times; when, besides Wars, Sieges, Battels, Triumphs, &c. the Historians, with a free Hand, described the Clashings of the Chief Magistrate with the People's Representative; the Great Charter, the Fundamental Laws and Liberties of the Subject, with the warm Debates and Contestations betwixt the Peers and Commons, were what *Tacitus* accounted the noblest Subject for an Historian, who ought to write *libero egressu*, with a free Hand; which is so shocking to the Archdeacon's Decencies, Delicacies, and Decorums, that he terms it Kennel-raking, and Scavenger's Work.

We have seen with what Boasts of Impartiality the Historian fills his Prefaces and Introductions; and as I am going to oppose the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke's* Memorials to his History, it will not be improper to shew in what their Characters, as Historians, are opposite; and nothing can be more so, than those Boasts of Mr. *Echard*, compar'd with Mr. *Whitlocke's* Simplicity and Nakedness, the surest Signs of Sincerity and Truth.

In *Whitlocke*, says my Lord *Anglesey*, there is no Preface or Insinuation of Indifferency and Impartiality.
Our

INTRODUCTION.

Our Author confesses every where his Engagements, his Party, when he proceeded, and when he retreated, without casting any Mist to lead you aside, or divert you, where the ways are nice and difficult, from observing what were the Measures, and where the Dangers of making a false Step.

What a number of Mists are in my Lord Clarendon's and Mr. Echard's Histories ! Can it be said, that the Sky is ever clear, and that the fair Face of Truth ever appears in its native Lustre and Beauty ? Lord Anglesey of Whitlocke again.

All are naked, and the Party more likely to suffer by the Truth, than the Truth to have any Violence in Favour of a Party. His Lordship declares frankly, that Whitlocke's own Party is not spared by him : That he had the Principle of a Gentleman, and wrote like a Man of Honour. How terribly will this reflect on Mr. Echard's History ! when the Reader sees the Difference in the Comparison, which every Word the Lord Anglesey says of him fully explains.

It may be objected, that the Manner of these two Writers is different, but the Matter is the same ; and they must agree in that which is the Foundation of all History, or what they say cannot be true. As to the Difference of the Manner, the one being call'd a History, the other a Diary, perhaps it is in Name only that they differ ; for as Echard often is no more than a Journalist, so sometimes Whitlocke, to borrow from his Lordship's Preface, writes up to the Dignity of an Historian ; elsewhere he is content barely to set down Occurrences Diary-wise, without melting down, or refining the Ore. The truth is, he never intended his Book should be printed, nor meant otherwise by it than as a Book for his Memory and private Use ; yet such was his Relation to the Publick, so eminent in his Station, and so much was he upon the Stage during all the time of Action, that the Particulars of his Diary go very far towards a perfect History of those Times. And that we may have the greater Dependance upon his Memorials, my Lord Anglesey mentions the great Advantages Whitlocke had as to the Portion of Time, when the State-Cabinet was laid open, all the Tricks expos'd, all the mysterious Characters decypher'd, all the Deeds and Mis-deeds, all the
secret

INTRODUCTION.

xli

Secret Practices and Intrigues unravell'd to the Eye, and Observation of the World, and such a Foundation for certainty in an Historian, as rarely any Times have afforded. These Tricks and Mis-deeds have the Earl of Clarendon and Archdeacon Echard carefully cover'd up again; and, as we are told in the above-mentioned Preface, There are so many Disguises, and so much Mist intermingled with the Transactions, that the most diligent Historian is many times lost, and forced upon Conjecture, and cannot distinguish what is real from what are stale Pretences. I am the longer on the Character of this noble Historian Whitlocke, as it is given us by the most Honourable Author of the Preface to his Memorials, that the Reader may the better judge of the Archdeacon's Credit, by comparing it with the Lord Commissioner's, who had not, says Lord Anglesey, such malignity to infect his Pen, nor was it in his Temper; and certainly no Man was ever better furnished, or more capable of composing an History; he not only serv'd the State in Places of the highest Trust and Importance, both at home and abroad, and acquitted himself with Success and Reputation, answerable to each respective great Character, but likewise convers'd with Books, and made himself a large Provision from his Studies and Contemplation. How vast is the Difference between this Author's Qualifications and our Historian's! The next Sentence makes it infinite. He was like that noble Roman Portius Cato, Reipublice peritus, & Jurisconsultus, & magnus Imperator, & probabilis Orator, & cupidissimus Litterarum; Corn. Nep. A Statesman, learned in the Laws, a great Commander, an eminent Speaker, and an exquisite Scholar; he was all along so much in Business, one would not imagine he had ever Leisure for Books; yet who considers his Studies, might believe he had been always shut up with his Friend Selden. There's enough, his Friendship with the great Selden is the most demonstrative Proof of his Merit. And among whom, after this Comparison, can one rank our late Historian, but those Diminutive Writers he speaks of in his last Preface, not worth taking notice of, but to prevent the Mischief which may be done by their partial Writings.

INTRODUCTION.

As *Whitlocke's* Character is the very Reverse of *Echard's*, with respect to Capacity and Merit, so it is even with respect to Style. His Words apt and proper to the Occasion; the Style clear, easy, and without the least Force or Affectation of any kind. Which is another singular Proof of Sincerity. Epithers, Jingle, and affected Phrases, being the *Fard* made use of by corrupt Historians, as Paint is by lewd Women to hide Corruption and Deformity. To conclude what Lord *Anglesey* has to say of the *Memorials*: "The daily Passages and Matters of Fact thus simple and un-adorn'd, without being pinn'd together and lick'd over to advantage for publick View, may have as good Effect, may be as profitable, and be as well receiv'd by Men of Judgment, as any Story dress'd up with Gloss and Artifice, and all the Starch and Formality that ordinarily recommend them to the World."

I have in a few Places only compar'd *Echard* with *Rushworth*, thinking it sufficient to shew him and *Whitlocke* together; and the rather for that *Rushworth* had his best Helps from *Whitlocke*. I intended to have done the same by the History of the *Grand Rebellion*, as by Mr. *Echard's* History; and the Reader would then have seen that the one is every whit as liable to exception as the other, the *Imagination* and *Colouring* only excepted. But I grew weary of the Work; and the Prevarication and Misrepresentation so thicken'd upon me, that I could see no Light, and wastir'd with groping always in Darkness. I have been enough importun'd to go on with the Design; and, as I have said elsewhere, do not want helps from the Observations of Men of Sincerity and Judgment; but till the ill Effects of that History are more apparent, I may appear too officious in offering to serve the Publick against their Will. I begin my Comparison of *Echard* with *Whitlocke* where the latter begins his *Memorials*, Anno 1625; and shall observe such Passages only as seem to carry with them the Reason why they are mis-represented. It will almost always be found to be done with a View of advancing *Arbitrary Power* in the State, and *Bigotry* and *Persecution* in the Church; by both which the *Laudeans* serv'd their imaginary Interests, having the

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Direction of the King's Conscience, and the Favour of the Sovereign. They could not flatter him with too much Power; for they doubted not whatever he had, they should share it with him. As often as the Prince shew'd that he would not let them be his Partners, they cry'd, *Nature would Rebel against Principle*, and *Resistance* became a most Orthodox Doctrine.

I might introduce this Discourse, as the Archdeacon does his, with a Declamatory one on *Human Nature*; and shew how *Self* is apt to misguide, as well as to preserve us. How worldly Interests have alter'd the very Property of Things, and turn'd Spirituals into Temporals. How Pride and Obstinacy have continued an Error, which was at first established by Power and Superstition, and erected that into a *Doctrine of Religion*, which at first was only the *Pretence of a Party*. But I should be guilty of the same needless Vanity, with which I have charg'd our Historian.



INTRODUCTION

ERRATA.

PAG. 6. l. 30. for *Self*, r. *Jest*. p. 7. l. 23. for *Time it is*, r. *True it is*. p. 10. l. 29. for *2 or 300*, r. *2 or 3000*. p. 27. l. 37. for *and have*, r. *and I have*. p. 29. l. 2. for *deserv'd*, r. *desir'd*. p. 30. l. 32. for *Unity*, r. *Vanity*. p. 34. l. 29. for *advising*, r. *a doing*. p. 41. l. 30. for *in conjunction*, r. *in conjunction with the Irish*. p. 42. l. 2. for *after her*, r. *after of her*. p. 54. l. 19. for *in more*, r. *in some*. p. 62. l. 29. for *Sintamar*, r. *Tintamar*. p. 73. l. 26. for *had voted*, r. *voted*. p. 76. l. 2. r. *Prevarication and Misrepresentation*. p. 77. l. 20. r. *Necessity*. p. 79. l. 18. r. *the Guilt*. p. 119. l. 3. r. *and that*. p. 121. l. 15. for *Hollis's*, r. *Hollis bis*. l. 31. r. *Kingdoms*. *'Twas a Time of Faction*, except. p. 122. l. 3. for *prepara*, r. *practise*. p. 124. l. 11. r. *'Tis the fault of the Period we write of, if*. p. 127. l. 27. for *Cruel War*, r. *Civil War*. p. 128. l. 35. for *of them*, r. *in most of them*. p. 139. l. 37. for *Charity*, r. *Charity than*. p. 140. l. ult. for *upon which*, r. *and*. p. 141. l. 32. for *Corruption*, r. *Conception*. p. 146. l. 8. for *name Beginners*, r. *new Beginners*. p. 148. l. 25. for *an*, r. *on*. p. 164. l. 12. r. *King's Commissioners*. p. 170. l. 14. r. *Dirt*. p. 179. l. 22. dele *for*. p. 187. l. 9. r. *by Figures*. l. ult. r. *Ports*. p. 201. l. 2. dele *Chronicle*. l. 26. for *in the Chronicle*, r. *in the Chronicle*. p. 202. l. ult. for *Informers*, r. *Infamous*. p. 205. l. ult. for *chief Ruler*, r. *chief Rebel*. p. 207. l. 7. for *their Enquiries*, r. *their Enemies*. p. 217. l. 16. dele *to*. p. 218. l. 10. for *inverts*, r. *invert*. p. 223. l. 25. for *vested*, r. *rested*. p. 235. l. 30. for *bad*, r. *had not*. p. 348. l. ult. for *Kennes's*, r. *Higgins*. p. 355. l. 4. dele *who I think*. p. 356. l. 2. for *Land*, r. *Laud*. p. 366. l. 7. for *I can*, r. *I cannot*. p. 374. l. 12. for *His*, r. *This*. p. 375. l. 28. for *This*, r. *His*. p. 378. l. 29. r. *after*. p. 380. l. 22. for *Geography*, r. *Biography*. l. 23. for *Edward*, r. *Edmund*. p. 384. l. 35. r. *of them*. p. 388. l. 17. for *remarkable*, r. *Bank*. p. 390. l. 13. for *Philip's*, r. *Philips bis*. p. 399. l. 2. dele *a Devil of him*. p. 400. l. 31. for *Wounds*, r. *Words*. p. 409. l. 5. for *Protectors*, r. *Proctors*. l. 7. r. *the common*. p. 413. l. 26. r. *their Bishops*. p. 416. l. 10. for *strongly*, r. *strangely*. l. 20. r. *the Court*.



CHAP. I.

Observations on Mr. Echard's History of the Reigns of

Henry VIII. & Queen Mary.

Edward VI. & Queen Elizabeth.

H E N R Y VIII.



FROM the Beginning of the Reformation to the End of it, Mr. Echard would have us believe, that that Divine Work was in full Perfection; and no body had ever said a Word against it, till some Enthusiastical Factioned Spirits, who pretended to more Religion than their Neighbours, began to find Fault with it in the Year of Our Lord 1564, as will be remember'd hereafter.

He does not tell you that all the Reformers in Christendom, not only in those Times, but in the Times since the Christian Church was corrupted with Popery, have built upon much the same Bot-

tom, both as to Faith and Discipline, as the Protestant Churches of Geneva, Swisserland, France, Holland, Scotland, &c. are founded upon.

Of much the same Faith and Discipline were the *Waldenses*, who divided from the Romish, Splendid, Magnificent, Corrupt and Idolatrous Church about 900 Years ago, and settled Congregations of their own under pious and laborious Ministers.

With these agreed the *Albigenses* 400 Years after, who bravely oppos'd the Papal Tyranny under the Heroick Earl of *Tolouse*.

Of the same Religious Principles were the *Wickliviſts* in the 14th Century, and the *Bohemians* soon after, 100 Years before *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox* or *Cranmer* were heard of; and even in *Cranmer's* Time there were great Numbers of Religious, Learned and Worthy Men, who were for abolishing all Appearances of Superſtition, and reducing the *Hierarchy* to the ancient primitive State; which is ſo learnedly and ſo clearly ſet forth in that Incomparable Treatiſe, mentioned in the *First Part*, Entitled, an *Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Discipline, Unity and Worſhip of the Primitive Church*, entirely conformable both in Principle and Practice to the *Puritans* in the Infancy of the Reformation. Among theſe good Men were thoſe Great Prelates and Martyrs, *Biſhop Hooper*, *Biſhop Latimer*, *Biſhop Farrer* and *Biſhop Poynt*. Thoſe Learned and Religious Divines, Martyrs and Confellors, *Tindal*, *Frith*, *Barnes*, *Lambert*, *Garret*, *Stafford*, *Thiſtle*, *Tracy*, *Fulk*: As alſo ſeveral Perſons of the higheſt Rank and Quality of both Sexes, as *Queen Anne Bolaine*, the Dutcheſſ of *Suffolk*, the Lady *Suffex*, Lady *Hertford*, Lady *Fitz-Williams*, Lady *Pembroke*, Lady *Vane*, Lady *Tyrwhit*, Duke of *Suffolk*, Earl of *Hertford*, Earl of *Bedford*, Lord *Cromwel*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, Sir *George Blague*, Sir *Thomas Cawdine*,

dine, Sir Richard More; nor shou'd we forget the Men of Wit, as *Thomas Newton*, Esq; Mr. Row, Mr. Fish, both Gentlemen of *Grays-Inn*, &c. Mr. Row wrote an Interlude, in which was a Part intended to expose Cardinal *Wolfey*, and Mr. Fish acted it, by which he so incurr'd *Wolfey's* Displeasure, that he was forc'd to fly to *Flanders*, where he wrote a pleasant Treatise, called the *Supplication of Beggars* against the Popish Priesthood, who intercepted the Alms which shou'd have supported them, and engross'd all the Peoples Charity. This Piece was sent to Queen *Anne Bolein*, who gave it to the King; and he was so taken with it, that he admitted Mrs. Fish into his Presence, commanded her to send for her Husband, and when he return'd, had himself free Discourse with him for three or four Hours.

Mr. Fish in his *Supplication* calculates, that for 520000 Households in *England* was paid Five Pence a Quarter for every House to the five Orders of Priests, about 490000 λ Sterling.

He shews, that these Priests were not the 400th Part of the Kingdom, and yet had half of the Revenues and Wealth.

He adds, there were 100000 Whores the more for them, with much more to the like Purpose, a Word of which we do not find in Mr. *Echard*; but on the contrary, he very much laments the Demolishment of the Hives in which those Drones were bred, and highly extols the Piety of former Times in building Abbeys and Nunneries for them, to train People up in Idleness and Luxury, and take off their Service from their Country and Families.

Sir *Thomas More* undertook to answer Mr. Fish in his *Supplication of the Souls in Purgatory*, who must lye there, if the Pryars were not paid for getting them out of it: And this famous Writer

was so hurry'd on by his Zeal, that he forgot he was a Gentleman, and treated Mr. *Fish* with the Language of a Monk; in which he's exactly imitated by the furious Bigots of this Age, who know much better how to rail than reason, and never want Ribaldry, tho' they are so deficient in Wit. More call'd him *Fool*, *Witlefs*, *Frantick*, *Afs*, *Goose*, *mad Dog*, *Heretick*; which I insert for the Use of such *Answerers* as take up the Quarrel of the Historian. *Tonstall* Bishop of *London* prohibited the reading of *Fish's Supplication* and *Tindal's Bible*; so did other Prelates; and King *Henry* himself inclining to the Belief of *Transubstantiation*, to the Worship of Images, and many *Romish* Superstitions; the *Reformation* was at a Stand, till the Reign of King *Edward VI*; when the most zealous Reformers proceeded vigorously in their pious Work, and probably had perfected it, had that excellent Prince liv'd longer. *Fox* informs us how it came about, that the Church was no more reform'd in the Reign of King *Henry VIII*. "So long as
 " Queen *Anne* liv'd, the Gospel had indifferent Success. After that she by sinister Instigations of some
 " about the King was made away, the Course of
 " the Gospel began again to decline; but that the
 " Lord then stirred up the Earl of *Essex* opportunely to help in that Behalf; who no doubt
 " did much avail for the Increase of God's true
 " Religion, and much more had brought it to
 " Perfection, if the pestilent Adversaries, maligning the prosperous Glory of the Gospel, by contrary practising had not craftily undermin'd
 " him; by the means of which Adversaries, the
 " State of Religion more and more decay'd all the
 " Residue of his Reign". Yet it is worth observing, that even in this King's Reign there was a Prayer added to the *Litany*: From the *Tyranny*
 " and all the detestable Enormities of the Bishops of
 Rome,

Rome, *Libera nos*. This was continu'd in King Edward's two *Liturgies*, and we shall see presently what was done with it afterwards. Mr. *Echard* is not the better pleased with this King for mending the *Litany*. He will never forgive his unfrocking the Fryars; and tho' he owns, he was as *big in Mind as in Body*, yet he cannot help condemning him as *cruel, rapacious, and lustful, sacrilegiously swallowing vast Quantities of Church Lands*. To *swallow sacrilegiously* is a very odd Expression, and the Idea is the more gross, for that his Majesty's Gullet must needs participate of the Capaciousness of his Body, which he has amply described to us, and made some amends for this Sacrilege, by informing us he kept but one *Concubine*.

However the *Hand of Heaven* lay heavy upon him, King Edward VI. and the two Queens; for tho' he had six Wives, *he cou'd not produce one Grandchild*. Had he not meddled with the *Church Lands*, the Line of the *Tudors* might have flourish'd till this Time. The Want of them were indeed felt in this Kingdom, from the Year 1602 to 1688. But Thanks be to God, since that Time and at this, we have much Reason to be satisfy'd with God's good Providence.

When the *Rigid Men* have had it in their Power to persecute their good Brethren, to plunder them or burn them, as in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and at other Times; they always pretend that the Offenders are Enemies to the Government. Dr. *Barnes* the Martyr, was in King *Henry's* Reign charg'd with *Sedition*. Mr. *Singleton*, Queen *Anne Boleine's* Chaplain, was prosecuted to Death by the *Romish Priests*, under Pretence of *Seditious Preaching*. Thus did they abuse Sir *John Oldcastle* and Sir *Roger Acton*, above 100 Years before; and above 1000 Years before that, *Celsus* accuses the Primitive Christians of holding unlawful *Conventicles*, and

despising Dignities. Did not the Pagans say, of St. Paul, *he was a pestilent Fellow, a Mover of Sedition*; nay, did not the Jewish Priests say of the Son of God, *We found this Fellow perverting the Nation*? The very Expressions of the Persecutors in King Charles and King James's Reigns. It never was and never will be otherwise: Such Priests wou'd not be able to call in the Civil Power to destroy those it shou'd protect, for their own Sakes only, and therefore they set a Mark on such as they have doom'd to Destruction, stigmatizing them as Rebels and Plotters, Sowers of Sedition: Thus the *Asiatick* Heathens charg'd the *Jews*, as *rebellious and factious, hurtful to Kings, moving Sedition*, and the wicked *Haman* like the wicked *Jefferies* in our Days cry'd, *they ought to be cut off and not suffer'd to live.* We shall see when we come to Mr. Echard's History of the *Persecution* under the *Two Royal Brothers*, how it agrees with all these antient Constructions both in Fact and in Phrase.

It will not be pretended, that the Church was sufficiently purg'd in the Reign of Henry VIII. He was himself sensible of it, and declar'd a little before his Death to Archbishop Granmer and the French Ambassador *Annebaut*, that if he liv'd he would *repurgo the Estate of the Church, and go thorough with the same*, to use the Words of the *Martyrologist*. But this *Thorough Reformation* met with so many Discouragements, that instead of being accomplish'd, it became a Sect, and is a ludicrous Term in the Archdeacon's and others Writings, as if there was Infallibility in the Spiritual Constitution, as well in England as in Italy.

EDWARD

EDWARD VI.

UPON King *Edward* the VI's Accession to the Crown, his Counsellors, who govern'd in his *Minority*, proceeded in the *Reformation*, by removing Images, and abolishing several Superstitious Rites; the *Communion Service* was drawn, and the Order for the Use of it sent to the Clergy; but it seems there was not an entire Assent and Consent: Some thought there remain'd still too much of the *Romish Service*. The Holy Martyr Mr. Rogers objected to the Habits, Cap, Tippet, &c. alledging, that the Popish Priests for a Difference between them and the Protestants shou'd be confin'd to wear upon their Sleeves a *Chalice with a Host upon it*. Bishop *Pilkington* complain'd, that we are too like the *Papists in Marriage, and many other Things in our Liturgy*. This, says he, is our Fault generally, that we differ not from them in all our Ministry. Bishop *Bilson* defending the Reformed Churches against Popish Calumny, writes thus: They are so far from admitting the full Dose of the *Papist's Heresies, that by no means they can digest one Dram of our Ceremonies*; of which more in the following Pages. Time it is there was no Separation, on Account of Disagreement about Things indifferent; and probably there never wou'd have been any, had not *Subscriptions* driven those pious Men out of the Church, who cou'd very conscientiously worship God in it.

One may easily imagine, what Difficulties the first Reformers met with, when there was so rich, numerous and powerful a Body, as the *Romish Clergy*, engag'd by Interest to oppose them. This made it absolutely necessary to permit some Things in order to abolish others; and Archbishop *Cranmer* was for making the Church Doors as wide as

he cou'd, to make Room for every one to enter. Not that he was not appriz'd of the Duty and Necessity of a *further Reform*, when the People were better prepar'd for it, by being longer used to Alterations. *There was a lingring Slackness and drawing back*, says *Foxe*, of several Lawyers, and especially of Bishops and old Popish Curates. To humour these, many Ceremonies were kept in Church Worship, which several Reverend Fathers and Doctors wou'd have suppress'd at that Time; but Mr. *Echard* takes little or no Notice of it, that he might have a Colour to charge the *Presbyterians* with a Spirit of *Innovation*, as if there had been no Ground for, nor Talk of any further Amendment.

With what Reluctance did Bishop *Hooper* comply with the Episcopal Habit: *A. Wood* of Oxford says, he was a Man of worse than Calvinistical Principles, and wou'd not be consecrated, unless the Habit and some Ceremonies were dispens'd with. *Heylin* calls him the first Nonconformist, tho' to abuse him, he falsifies History; there being no Separation at that Time in the Protestant Church. How frequently and fervently did that Holy Martyr preach against *Pluralities*; the taking away of which Archbishop *Whitgift* said, wou'd be the Ruin of the Church: Yet nothing can be plainer than an Impossibility of a Man's *Vocation* to two distinct and distant Cures. Mr. *Echard* pretends to be a better Judge of these Things than Bishop *Hooper*, who he says was overscrupulous. Another Martyr, *Farrar*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, agreed pretty much in Opinion with Bishop *Hooper*. *A. Wood* accuses him of keeping a Harlot, tho' he knew that he bore his Testimony to the Truth of the Protestant Religion in the Flames at *Carmarthen*. The same *Oxonian* calls Bishop *Horn* impious. He has no better a Word for Dean *Whittingham*, and other
pious

pious Divines of the like Principles with Bishop Hooper; as were also Bishop Latimer, Bishop Poyntet, Mr. Philpot, Turner, Ross, Whitehead, &c. The Three latter recommended to Bishopricks by Archbishop Cranmer.

The Matter in Contest is not, whether those of the Reform'd, who were for agreeing with foreign Protestants in Church Discipline and Worship, were in the Right or not, but whether there were any such Divines, who express'd their earnest Desires for such an Agreement, as early as the Reformation it self. Which Mr. Echard endeavours to conceal from the World, that he might charge the Nonconformists as *Sectaries*, and *Lovers of Novelty*, as he does in many Places. Whereas the first Defection from Rome abroad was by Men of the same Sentiments in Religion, as were their Protestant Brethren in England, who press'd for a *Thorough Reformation*. Neither the one nor the other were against *Episcopacy*, as not agreeable to the Practice of the *Primitive Christians*, but as alter'd and corrupted by the *Romanists*. When the Martyr Lambert was question'd concerning his *Belief*, and the Numbers of his Fellow Believers, under Archbishop Warham A. D. 1532. He said, *I shall note to you a great Multitude which you may know and hear of, I suppose, through all the Regions and Realms of Christendom, that do believe as I believe: the Number, as I conceive, mounting nigh unto one half of Christendom.* Tho' that pious Man was probably out in his Calculation, yet most certain it is, that the Foreign Protestants of Calvin's Discipline, which Archbishop Laud, Mr. Echard, and others, call *New-fangled*, were many times more in Number than the Protestants of England, who oppos'd that Discipline. I will give the Archdeacon an Authority for it, against which I'm satisfy'd he has nothing to say; My Author being a Papist, and

no

no less a Man than King James II's Ambassador to the Pope; the Earl of Castlemain, who in his Book against Dr. Lloyd, late Bishop of Worcester, has this Passage. Sure, says he, "these Men that
 " persecute others, meaning Bishop Sheldon, Bi-
 " shop Morley, Bishop Ward, and the rest of Mr.
 " Echard's most admir'd Prelates, are beside them-
 " selves; for if they should go about to reckon
 " themselves up together with all their Adherents,
 " they would find they are not the sixth Part of
 " the Reform'd People in England. Mr. Echard
 copying after L'Estrange affirms, they were thirty
 to one; and Oldsworthy, hir'd by Morley in the
 same Cause, often bragg'd of them as Ten to
 One. The Lord Castlemain again, "They have
 " not much Reason to reproach the Roman Catho-
 " licks for the Parisian Massacre, that of Ireland,
 " and the Gunpowder Plot: Since that these Mas-
 " sacres were committed only on those Persons
 " whom Rome had anathematiz'd, and proscrib'd
 " as Hereticks and Apostates; and it was never
 " known that Rome persecuted, as the Bishops do,
 " those who adhere to the same Doctrine and Faith
 " with themselves, and establish'd an Inquisition
 " against the Bigots among them, nor against the
 " Professors of the strictest Piety. I beg the
 Reader to bear this in Remembrance till he comes to
 Bartholomew Day 1662, when the Archbishop turns
 2 or 300 Protestant Ministers out of their Livings
 with great Satisfaction and Delight. Lord Castle-
 main again, "However, tho' Prelates complain
 " of the bloody Persecution under Queen Mary, it
 " is manifest their Persecution exceeds it; for un-
 " der Her there were not more than 2 or 300 actu-
 " ally put to Death; whereas under their Perse-
 " cution, there has above treble the Number been
 " stifled, destroy'd and ruin'd in their Estates,
 " Lives and Liberties, being as is most remarkable,
 " Men

“Men, for the most part, of the same Spirit and Principles, with those Protestants who suffered under the Prelates in Queen Mary’s Time.” Which in an extraordinary Manner confirms what I have alledg’d, that the Principles of the Presbyterians and Puritans are not Novelties, as *Land*, and after him the Historian most positively affirm; but are as old as the Reformation it self; and the same with those of the martyr’d Reformers. Contrary to all this the Archdeacon assures us, there was not a Man in *England*, much less a Prelate, of like Principles with the ejected Ministers, till just six Years after the Death of Queen Mary.

The main Objection of the Papists to the reformed Religion was the Newness of it; whereas ’twas as old as *Christ* and his Apostles; and all the Reformers us’d to term it, rather a *Restoration* than a *Reformation*.

Queen M A R Y.

IN almost all the Examinations and Hearings of the Martyrs and Confessors in the *Marian* Persecution abovemention’d, the Question was, *How old is your Church? Where was your Church forty Years ago?* Had Mr. *Echard* been in *Jefferys’s* Place when he examin’d Mr. *Baxter*, I doubt not his Interrogatories would have been to the like Purpose. The Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, at Archdeacon *Philpot’s* last Examination, said,

Bishop. “Our true Catholick Church, are the Apostles, Evangelists, and Martyrs; but before Martin Luther, there was no Apostle, Evangelist, or Martyr, of your Church.”

Philpot. *Will ye know the Cause why Christ did prophesy, that in the latter Days, there should come false Prophets and Hypocrites, as ye be?*

Bishop.

Bishop. "Your Church of Geneva, which ye call the Catholick, is that which Christ prophesy'd of."

Philpot. I allow the Church of Geneva, and the Doctrine of the same; for it is una Catholica & Apostolica, and doth follow the Doctrine that the Apostles did preach.

The same blessed Martyr, in another Place, answering the same Bishop about the Catholick Church, said, *The Catholick Church is not as now-a-days, the People be taught to be that, which is most universal, or of most part of Men received; whereby you do infer our Faith to hang upon the Multitude, &c.* He then explains what is to be understood by the Catholick Church, *the true Believers in all Ages and Places.* An Explanation hardly intelligible to those that have been taught to bind it up in certain Articles, and confine it to certain Places. Nor was this the Opinion of Archdeacon *Philpot* only; most of the Holy Martyrs, as Lord *Castlemain* observes, thought as he did, and those that thought otherwise, did it with such a Spirit of Charity as might convince every one, that true Christianity does not consist in particular Denominations; or, in a word, that Christ's Catholick Universal Church is not singular and national.

Nothing, in History is surer, than that the Difference of Opinions about Church Government and Church Worship, is as old as the Reformation. This appear'd more sensibly, when the two Parties were on neutral Ground, and Persons on both sides fled from Queen *Mary's* Cruelty, to Germany. There were about 800 of them in the Empire, *Switzerland, France, and Geneva*: The most settled at *Frankfort*; and it was no little Scandal to their Holy Religion, that such Divisions shou'd disturb Christian Union, in so difficult

ficult and dangerous a Juncture. One Part of these Fugitives were for *Diocesans*, the *English Liturgy* and *Ceremonies*; for the same Reason that they were established in *England*; that they might no more than needs depart from the *Papists*, nor seem inconstant by departing from what *King Edward* had done. The Heads of these were Dr. *Elmer* and Dr. *Cox*, afterwards Bishops of *London* and *Ely*. The others were for *Calvin's Discipline*, and way of Worship. The Heads of these were *Whitehead*, *Sampson*, *Humphry*, and *Whittingham*. Of these *Whitehead* was in such high Esteem with *Queen Elizabeth*, that she offer'd him the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*; but he refus'd it, as *Sampson* did the Bishoprick of *Norwich*. *Laurence Humphry*, Dean of *Winchester*, was a Man so eminently learned, that 'tis suppos'd he might have attain'd the highest Dignity in the Church, but that in Matters of Ceremony and Indifference, says *A. Wood*, He altogether consented not to the Church of *England*. This great Divine was Professor of Divinity, President of *Magdalen College*, and several times Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*. *A. Wood* adds, He stockt his College with a Generation of Nonconformists, and sow'd Seeds of Calvinism in the Divinity School. Archbishop *Matthew* said of him, He had read more Fathers than the Jesuit *Campion*, his Antagonist, ever saw. Dr. *Humphry* was wont to say, We ought to refuse to conform to the Enemies of God in any of their Ceremonies: He openly profess his Desire and Hope of the utter abolishing all Monuments of *Popish Superstition* yet remaining. Dr. *Sampson*, Dean of *Christ-Church*, was another Divine of great Eminence, noted for the Conversion of the Holy Martyr *Mr. Bradford*: He was removed from his Deanry by Dr. *Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had before hinder'd him of the Bishoprick of *Norwich*,

wich, on Account of his *Scruples* with respect to Rites and Habits. *Wood* the *Oxonian* says, He was a severe Calvinist, if not worse, and liv'd beyond the Age of Man, in a perpetual Motion for the carrying on of the Holy Cause of Purity and Reformation; which are some of the greatest Jest in the World to such as have no Notion of a Church, without Honours, Riches, and Powers: And these Jest-makers wou'd certainly be very much in the right, if there was no other World but the present, to which they seem to confine Christ's glorious Kingdom. A great Friend of Dr. Sampson was Mr. Richard Chambers, whom Bishop Ridley speaks of so affectionately in his Letter to Dr. Grindal, then a Fugitive with them in Germany.

Dr. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, was a Divine of the same religious Principles, and a frequent Preacher at Court. *A. Wood* tells us, he us'd to deal plainly and faithfully with Queen Elizabeth, especially when he preached against the Sign of the Cross; at which she was so much offended, that she call'd to him to forbear. The very eminent Dr. Fulk, Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, says, If a Man mislike our Form of Service, as not differing sufficiently from yours, the Popish, he sheweth his greatest Zeal in Detestation of your Idolatry and Blasphemy. Again, we abhor whatever hath but a Show of Popery. Dr. Sutcliff was another learned and pious Divine, who agreed with Calvin in Matters of Faith and Discipline; as did also Dr. Andrews, Mr. Marbury, Mr. Greenham, Mr. Perkins, and Mr. Powell, famous Champions for the Protestant Religion, against Harding, Mar-tial, Bristow, Campian, and other Popish Writers.

Queen

Queen ELIZABETH.

THESE wou'd be no End of it, if one shou'd go about to name all the eminent Divines and Doctors of our Church who were of the same Sentiments, tho' many of 'em did not think the Difference between the Geneva Reform and that in England sufficient to warrant a Separation, while the Terms of Conformity were so moderate, as by King Edward the VI's and Queen Elizabeth's Acts: Others remain'd unsatisfy'd, and were always pressing for farther Amendment. Dr. Calamy writes thus on this Subject: "When the English Refugees return'd to England on Queen Elizabeth's Accession to the Crown, the Episcopal Party got the Countenance of the Queen, was preferr'd, and their Way set up: The other Party petition'd, hop'd, and waited, but were discountenanc'd, rebuk'd and suppress'd." Of all which the Archdeacon takes not the least Notice; but, on the contrary, he seems to be extremely well pleas'd, that Things went backward rather than forward, and that the express Declaration against Transubstantiation in King Edward's Common-Prayer Book, was left out in Queen Elizabeth's: It being only a speculative Point; that is, an Article of Faith made up of Contradictions, Inconsistencies, and Impossibilities. The most gross Imposition on human Reason and common Sense, and the highest Affront to the great Creator, is only a Matter of Speculation: So soft-mouth'd is this Writer, and others of his Stamp, when Popery, even the worst Parts of it, are in Question: Not that all their coaxing of the Papists cou'd ever procure them an Admission to the Rights of Apostolical Succession, such as Ordination, Absolution, &c. or any better Names from the Papists, than Schismatics and Hereticks. True

it is, the *Romanists* were first in Possession of the *Powers, Riches, and Honours*, of Church Pomp and Magnificence, which glitter so much in Mr. *Richard's* History, and are so much his Glory and Delight, as wrong as they are in Matters of Faith and Worship; Things that seem too remote to engage Men's Concern for them, equally with what is in view, as Titles, Authorities, and Wealth. How plain, how natural are such Reflections! yet, how do *these Men* disguise them, when there is no Occasion for it? If they wou'd but speak the simple Truth, and say, the *ultima Ratio*, the major Vote was for that Magnificence and Pomp, for as much of temporal Power and Riches as cou'd be had, and the Laws on their Side, it wou'd do every whit as well; for most certainly, there is nothing in those Laws which good Men may not very innocently comply with, whatever Objection they have to make to them. But they will not be satisfy'd with holding their very great Immunities and Emoluments by the Laws of the Land only, they will enjoy them by the same Rights as the *Pope* holds his Empire, by direct Succession from *St. Paul* or *St. Peter*, one or both of them; which many pious Confessors and learned Doctors did not approve of; and not long after *Queen Elizabeth's Uniformity Act* past, many Ministers, who had been preferr'd upon their Return from Exile, were deprived. *Dr. Miles Coverdale*, who had been Bishop of *Exeter* in King *Edward's* Reign, would not accept of any Bishoprick after *Queen Mary* had turn'd him out of that; and several others refus'd Preferment, by reason of Scruples about Habits, Rites, and Ceremonies. Among these were Mr. *Lever* and Mr. *Goodman*, Men eminent among the *English* Protestant Exiles: The Latter was of *Christ's Church* College, and Divinity Reader in *Oxon*, where

where he was very much esteem'd for his Learning, from the Beginning of the Reformation, till he was driven thence by Queen Mary's bloody Persecution: He stay'd some time at *Frankfort*, and then removed to *Geneva*, where he contracted a Friendship with *Calvin*, who speaks honourably of him in his Epistles: But *Wood* the *Oxonian*, borrowing from *Parsons* the Jesuit, tells us, *He was a most pernicious Fellow, and plotted the Death of the Queen.*

You see it has always been the Way of these Men, to charge those that oppose their Ecclesiastical Tyranny with treasonable Plots. *Wood* very honestly confesses why he does it; *No Man was more ready than he to oppose the Settlement of the Church in the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.* After *Parsons's* Invective against Mr. *Goodman*, comes *Heylin's* charging him with *Wyat's* Rebellion, when he liv'd 1000 Miles off at *Geneva*. The Truth is, he wrote a Book in that City on the Lawfulness of *Resistance*, in Cases of *extream Necessity*; in which he bestow'd some hard Names on Queen *Mary*; as a *wicked Woman*, *Proserpine*, &c. Whereas Mr. *Echard*, out of the Abundance of his Decorums, assures us, this Princess, so often bath'd in the Blood of the best Protestants, was a Woman of *Virtue and Piety*. How different is this Panegyrick from an Oration written by Mr. *Hales*, a Friend of the Lord Keeper *Bacon's*, and the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh's*, which was deliver'd to Queen *Elizabeth* by a Lord of her Court, wherein are these Expressions? "If any Man wou'd take upon
"him to set forth particularly all that have been
"done these full five Years by this Unnatural,
"no Woman but a Monster, and the Devil of
"Hell cover'd with the Shape of a Woman, as
"it is most necessary for the Glory of God, and
C " the

“ the Profit of the Church and this Realm, it
 “ should be done : He shall find it a Matter suf-
 “ ficient for a perfect great History, and not to
 “ be contain’d in an Oration.” This Author was
 a Gentleman of the Family of *Hales* in *Kent*, and
 Founder of the Family of the same Name in *Coventry*.
 ’Tis great Pity, he had not had the Advantage of
 Mr. *Echard*’s Education and Conversation, which
 wou’d have taught him how to complement the
 Vices of Princes, and never to have offended
 against the Laws of good Breeding, tho’ *necessa-*
ry for the Glory of God, and the Profit of his Church,
 as Mr. *Hales* told Queen *Elizabeth*.

’Tis strange, the Archdeacon says nothing of
 the Things which were retain’d in the Church
 by Queen *Elizabeth*’s Reformation ; for by draw-
 ing that Curtain, we shou’d have been presented
 with the most glittering Scene, as it is painted
 by his favourite Historian Dr. *Heylin*.

Archbishops, Bishops, &c.

*Liturgy, Rites, Ceremonies, and Festivals, in their
 former Dignity.*

*Weekly Fasts, Embering Weeks, Holy Time of
 Lent, Rogation, and Wednesdays, Fridays, and
 Saturdays.*

*The Kalendar, the Holy Altar, Bowing at the
 Church Door.*

*Kneeling at the Communion, Standing up at the
 Creed.*

*Bowing at the Name of Jesus, Musick, Organs,
 Excellent Voices, Priests in Copes, Rich Plate,
 Gilt Candlesticks, Tapers, Silver Crucifix
 in the Queen’s own Chapel.*

He tells us only in general, that her Majesty
 lov’d *Magnificence* in the Worship of God ; and
 that the most considerable Alteration in her Ser-

vice was, the leaving out of King Edward's Declaration against the Corporal Presence. Heylin blunders out, that Care was taken for expunging all such Passages as might give Offence to the Papists; particularly, a whole Rubrick at the End of the Communion Service, which did not much favour the Adoration of the Host: And to come close to the Church of Rome, says honest Dr. Heylin, *The Sacramental Bread was made round in the Fashion of a Wafer.* He adds, By these Complaisances and Expungings the Common-Prayer Book was made so passable among Papists, that for ten Years they generally came to Church without Scruple, till the Queen and Realm were curst by Pope Pius the Vth. Osborn says, the Pope offer'd to confirm the Common-Prayer Book, provided the Queen wou'd receive it as a Favour from the Apostolick See; and what made it so acceptable to his Holiness and his Emissaries, was not a Means to gain those that were for throwing out all the Remains of Mass Service, as very many were. He owns, that when Queen Elizabeth's Uniformity Act past, it met with great Oppositions, from those who were for less Form and more Power in Religious Worship, less Ceremony and more Piety; for which they were call'd Puritans, Precisians, and the like: Tho' he assures us, that Puritanism did not begin till about ten Years after, when Harding, Sanders, and other Jesuitical Rebels, began to disturb the Queen's Government. Then also did certain obscure nameless Fellows, Coleman, Button, Hallingham, and Benson, openly endeavour to reform the Church after the Geneva Pattern: This, says he, was the Beginning of the Puritans. He will not allow, that the Bishops before-mention'd, a great Number of the most pious and learned Divines of our Church, and most illustrious of the Laity, were Maintainers and Favourers of that thorough Reformation,

matior, which with him is so risible, and with them so serious and necessary. He mentions these inconsiderable Men, to insinuate, that *Puritanism* was the Child of Faction and Ignorance, and the Wife and the Noble were scandalized by it.

Queen *Elizabeth* was a Woman as well as a Queen, and lov'd Dress as well as any of her Sex. Like other Women she delighted in *Show* and *Pomp*, and was loth to part with any Thing of that Kind: By retaining so much of the *Romish* Splendor, the Ecclesiasticks did at once please her Vanity, and their own. Queen *Elizabeth*, says *Bishop Burnet*, receiv'd some Impressions in her Father's Reign, in favour of such old Rites as he had still retain'd; and in her own Nature loving State, she thought her Brother had stript Religion too much of External Ornaments, &c. Thus, it seems, there was no Fear of more Amendment, since that which had been amended was dislik'd by her. And *Sir Simon d'Erves*, in his parliamentary Collections, informs us, that seven Bills were prepar'd by the House of Commons for a farther Reformation in Religion, but were dash'd by the Queen as against her Prerogative. It wou'd have been a signal Instance of the Historian's Impartiality, if he had told us as much; and that, not only two or three sorry Seditious Enthusiasts desir'd such a Thing, but also the Representative of the People of *England*.

Among the many Divines who desir'd and pray'd that the sacred Work of Reformation might go further, was *Mr. Foxe* the Martyrologist, *Mr. Bale*, *Mr. Crowley*, *Mr. Pullayne*, *Mr. Gilby*, *Mr. Carlisle*, *Dr. Cole*, and others, who had been Fugitives in Queen *Mary's* Reign. With these agreed *Mr. Andrew Kingsmill*, *Mr. Francis Mills*, *Mr. Thomas Aldridge* of *Oxon*, *Mr. Gilpin*, the Northern Apostle, who refus'd a Bishoprick,

Mr. Horton, Mr. Cheston, Mr. Withers, &c. of Cambridge. These were some of the most eminent Professors and Students in both Universities, were Friends to and Correspondents with *Martyr, Zanchy, Calvin, Beza, Bullenger, Gualtier*, and other Protestant Divines in *Germany* and *Geneva*; who interpos'd by Letters to the Queen and Bishops, in Behalf of their suffering Brethren in *England*, when the Deprivations and Suspensions commenc'd upon passing Queen *Elizabeth's* Uniformity Act; which Mr. *Echard* wou'd have us believe, met with no Opposition after 'twas past, but from a Parcel of obscure Factionous Fellows.

As soon as that *Act* had the Royal Assent, he very justly boasts, that 'twas *the Law of the Land*, and a *High Commission* Court was set up, to turn those Ministers out of their Churches and Houses, P. 330. who wou'd not conform. In this Place he mentions *Papists* only; but in another, he confesses

this Court persecuted Protestant Dissenters; in telling which he is not however so sincere as Mr. *Osborn*; who speaking of this same excellent Court of his, has these Expressions: "The Queen
" and her *Commissioners* by this *Act*, were enabled
" to alter or bring in what Ceremonies or Worship
" they thought fit; and it was left to the Arbitrary Will of the Queen, to return back to the
" old exploded Way, or remove farther off. Her
" Successors not being mention'd in the *Act*, left
" room to question, Whether it ought longer to
" be in Force than her Life? But King *James*
" and the Bishops finding the Advantage it brought
" to the Crown no less than the Church, did not
" only own it among the *Statutes* unrepealed, and
" in Force, but did print it, with a Proclamation to strengthen it, at the Beginning of the
" *Common-Prayer* Book. Neither had the *High*
" *Commission* any better Vizard to face the Tyran-

"ny daily practis'd by the Clergy, but what the
 " Authority of this *Act* did afford ; which may one
 " Day tempt the People to a new Reformation,
 " after Experience hath taught them, how per-
 " nicious it is to trust Prince or Priest with any
 " Power capable of Abuse." This is the History
 of a *Layman* and a *Gentleman*, and we have not a
 Hint of it in the Archdeacon's : On the contrary
 he affirms, p. 508. that the *High Commission Court*
was of excellent Use both to the Church and State :
 Then he extols it for curbing the *Incontinence,*
Lewdness, and Profaneness of Great Men ; whereas
 he knows full well, that for one *Great Man* curb'd
 for his *Lewdness*, there were a hundred good Men
 harra's'd and ruin'd for Conscience sake. The
 pulling down what *Osborn* calls the *Tyranny of the*
Clergy, was an *Inlet*, says Mr. *Echard*, to *Incest* and
Adultery. All the World knows, what Pains were
 taken, after the Erecting of that Court, to reform
 Mens Manners, than which there has hardly been
 any Thing more ridicul'd and despis'd. What
 Examples, as well as Lessons, we have had, needs
 no Remark. The *Two Books* for enjoining *Sab-*
bath-breaking, are Instances of the Piety and Pu-
 rity of *these Men*, who I'm perswaded will never
 be for any Reformation, which they have not
 themselves the Hands of, by Prisons, Penalties,
 and other Punishments.

Mr. *Osborn* informs us, that all the Ceremonies
 used at Queen *Elizabeth's* Inauguration were *Popish*,
 and that the *Ring, Cross* and *Surplice* were
 retain'd, contrary to the Grain of her best Friends.
 An Instance of which we have in Sir *Francis*
Knollys, a Kinsman of hers by the *Caries*, who
 being highly scandaliz'd at the great *Silver Cruci-*
fix in the Queen's Chapel, instigated *Pach* the
 Court Fool to break it in Pieces (*no Body else,*
says Heylin, daring to undertake such desperate
Service.)

Service.) The Archdeacon informs us, that the *Exiles* returning upon Queen *Mary's* Death, *They* with some other zealous Men, began to break down Images, and set up King *Edward's* Service, but the Queen had a new Service; and *Osborn* says, *She* commanded the Common-Prayer Book, which contains most of the Mass in English, to be publicly read, p. 359. and its Opposers to be restrained under no slighter Punishment than Death or Imprisonment. The *Thirty nine Articles* being publish'd, the Archdeacon assures us, it compleated the Reformation, as appears more fully from Dr. *Heylin's* List, and other Passages in the preceding Pages.

We shall see presently how it compleated the Reformation; and I question not the Reader will be surpriz'd to meet the least Doubt remaining in the Minds of Men, that the Reformation was not compleat; or that there was the least Opposition to the National Church, before Mr. *Echard* makes Mr. *Cartwright* run to Geneva to learn Presbytery, which he might as well have learn'd in Great Britain; but such are the notable Speculations that embellish the Archdeacon's History. *Monsieur des Maizeaux* in his Life of *Chillingworth*, speaking of that Learned Man's going to Doway to learn Popery, says *could he not know their Doctrine from their Books?* most certainly; but as he went to Doway to enter himself into the Communion of the Church of Rome; so Mr. *Cartwright* went to Geneva, to enter himself into the Communion of that Church.

I doubt not the Reader will be still more surpriz'd to find any Mention of a further Reform; after Mr. *Echard* had given us his Word, that the 39 Articles had made it compleat; I shall be look'd upon as Schismatical for insinuating it, as I have done in the first Volume, and also in this: For whatever he says, I know very well, that a great

Number of the Bishops and Clergy, and of the Laity, Lords and Commons, did insist upon it, that the Reformation wou'd not be, and was not compleated by the Articles, or the Uniformity Act ; and that it was not such obscure Fellows, as *Coleman, Bullen, Hallingham* and *Benson*, who were the first Broachers of Puritanism, as Mr. *Echard* positively affirms, p. 338. So far is it contrary to Truth, that the Majority of the House of Commons were for reforming still further, and not for drawing the least back towards the Church of *Rome*. Is there any Prevarication like this in History ? and how little does our Church stand in need of such mean Arts and thin Disguises to support her Authority ! I do not desire to have my Word taken against Mr. *Echard's*, after I have charg'd him with so gross a Misrepresentation. *Monsieur des Maizeaux*, in the Life of *Chillingworth* before mention'd, writes thus : *I must observe, that there was at that Time, when Coleman and Hallingham began Puritanism according to our Historians, a Division in the Church of England : The Puritans, that is, such as were for a Further Reformation, desir'd, that some Practices which had been retain'd upon Political Considerations, might be abolish'd; and these had the Majority in Parliament.* How was it possible for a Man to make so little Conscience of the Duty of an Historian ; as to represent the Puritans as a pitiful Faction, led by such poor Creatures as *Button* and *Benson* ; when the Majority of the Legislature were on their Side ? Let us see, what the Ingenious *Monsieur des Maizeaux* adds upon this Subject, which is entirely sunk by Mr. *Echard* ; who having roundly and heartily subscrib'd to every one Article that requires Subscription, wou'd make us believe, that there had not been a Word said against them, but what came from the meanest and most ignorant Men
amongst

amongst us. P. 65. *When the Bill to ratify the Articles was brought before them; they did in Regard to those Clergy-Men, who were like themselves for a Further Reformation, limit the Subscription to the Articles which concern the Confession of the true Religion, and left a Latitude in what relates to Discipline and Ceremonies.* Not a Syllable of this in Archdeacon Echard's *Chronicles*: The *Ceremonies* and *Discipline* are with him the Main of the Matter: What wou'd signify the Belief of the Holy Scripture, and the living, according to that Rule, unless you did also believe that Dignities, Powers and Revenues are a Part of Religion!

The Bills relating to this *Further Reformation*, which Sir *Symonds Dewes* mentions in his *Parliamentary Collections*, occasion'd frequent Speeches in Parliament; as that by Mr. *Strickland*, a grave and ancient Man, of great Zeal, who press'd a Further Reformation, and that a Confession of Faith might be brought in, as had been done by the Professors of the Gospel in other Nations; he means Germany, Geneva, Swisserland, Scotland, &c. whose Gossellers were treated by *Laud*, *Wren*, *Neile*, &c. formerly; and by *Collier*, *Wharton*, *Echard*, &c. latterly, as Schismatics and Fanatics. Mr. *Strickland* added, *this had been attempted in Parliament before that Time, but either the Slackness or somewhat else of some was the Lett thereof, or what else he said he would not say.* By which he gives us a Hint, that *Queen Elizabeth's Womanish Love of Show*, which is the Magnificence Mr. *Echard* boasts of, was the Lett to the good Work; and the Pride and the Vanity of certain Ecclesiasticks confirm'd her in that Affection. Mr. *Strickland* was seconded by Mr. *Norton*, a Man wise, bold and eloquent, as we read in Sir *Symonds Dewes*: Some Members were for standing to the Directions of the Bishops, but the Major Part declar'd, they would

would do it *no farther than their Consciences should be satisfy'd*. Accordingly a Committee was appointed to confer with the Archbishop of Canterbury: Sir Robert Lane, Mr. Henry Knowles Senior, Mr. Ashley, Sir Henry Gate, Mr. Sands, Mr. Wentworth. The latter reported to the House what pass'd at the Conference, particularly, that the Archbishop said, *they shou'd refer themselves to the Bishops*; and he reply'd, *No, by the Faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing, before we understand what it is; for that were to make you Popes. Make you Popes, who list, for we will make you none.* Is there any Thing like this in all Mr. Echard's History? Instead of which he tells us, the Lords long'd for the Lands of the Church, and a Puritan or two would have brought her into Danger. *Monsieur des Maisseaux* shews us, p. 65. how *Jeremy Collier* is alike guilty of Prevarication and Misrepresentation in his Ecclesiastical History.

We have observ'd elsewhere with what *Severity* the Spiritual Courts proceeded against Protestant Ministers for not subscribing to the 39 Articles, which was the true Cause of their Separation from the Church of England. Before this Persecution, the Presbyterians continued in her Communion, in Hopes of the Reform; for which they pray'd and petition'd, and of which the Majority of the Legislature were also desirous: But the severe Proceedings about Subscription, and the cruel Persecution of the Non-Subscribers, drove many of the most able and pious Ministers out of the Church, and the most pious of their Flocks follow'd their Pastors. This in short is the Rise of Presbytery, as separated from the Establishment; and the *Era* of it was about *A. D. 1572*.

Has the Historian given us the least Hint of the Reasons, why those godly Ministers refus'd Subscription? Does he not impute it all to *Obstinacy*,
Turbu-

Tubulency, Faction and Frenzy! Very fair Doings indeed! As I have all along avoided entering farther into the Controversy between the Establishment and Presbytery, than was necessary to explain the History: So I shall now avoid Enlargement on the Dissenters Exceptions to the 39 Articles, and touch a little upon such as have been made against them by the most Orthodox. Among these Mr. *Chillingworth* is in the foremost Rank; and thus does *Monsieur des Marzeaux* represent his Case, p. 78. Mr. *Chillingworth*, considering he cou'd enjoy no Preferment without subscribing the 39 Articles; whereby he must not only declare willingly, and ex animo that every one of the Articles is agreeable to the Word of God; but also, that the Book of Common-Prayer contain'd nothing contrary to the Word of God; that it might be lawfully used, and that he himself wou'd use it. And conceiving at the same Time, that both in the Articles, and in the Book of Common-Prayer, there were some Things repugnant to the Scripture, or that were not lawful to be used, he fell into the greatest Anxiety of Mind. These are the Book and Articles which the Archdeacon assures us, compleated the Reformation; and which Mr. *Chillingworth* tells us, contain some Things not lawful to be used. Whose Judgment will the Reader be determin'd by? the very Learned and Judicious Mr. *Chillingworth*, the Champion of the Protestant Religion, or the Author of the History of England, whose wonderful Work is now before us!

Mr. *Chillingworth* had other Objections to the Subscriptions enjoyn'd by the Act; and one which the Presbyterian Ministers cou'd not subscribe to, the *Athanasian Creed*. They cou'd not, as Mr. *Chillingworth* objected, in Conscience, set their Names, ex animo, to a Symbol, which had so many Damnatory Clauses in it, and have often observ'd, with great Pleasure, that as unwarrantable

as those Clauses are, and as unintelligible as some others; the Zealots seem to bestir themselves most in pronouncing them, as if it was in spite to such as had any Charity and Moderation about them. Nay, it is reckon'd fanatical to intimate, that the Charitable *Athanasius* did not pen every Word of it by divine Inspiration; and to say he never saw it, points all the Artillery of his Creed against you. I might instance other Objections made by Mr. *Chillingworth*, as the Prayer, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our Hearts to keep this Law*, which is chanted so melodiously in all the Cathedrals of *England*, as it relates to the fourth Commandment. That Learned Divine thought the making it Part of the Christian Law, bound Christians to the Observation of the *Jewish Sabbath*, which he found contrary to the Doctrine of the Gospel, p. 82. I should swell this Volume to an unsizeable Bulk, if I should repeat all that was said by the Ministers against the 39 Articles; yet I am satisfy'd, Mr. *Echard* does not think one of them capable of Amendment. *They perfected the Reformation*, nor would he part with one of them to reconcile Dissenters to the Church; it being, as the Cry runs, to *humour Fanaticks*, and *they ought to come to us, and we not to go to them*, as if both Parties ought not to meet one another in Christian Unity.

He with good Reason commends Queen *Elizabeth's* Wisdom and Charity in giving Protection to the Protestants who fled from the Duke of *Alva's* Tyranny in the *Netherlands*, by which means several Manufactures were set up in *England*; but he does not say a Syllable of the Persecution, raised by some Prelates at home; which drove great Numbers of sober industrious People out of the Kingdom, on Account of Conscience: *Osborn* tells us, *so many removed to Holland, that it did not on-*

ly

ly draw much of our Coin thither, but our Manufactures of Weaving, Dying, Fulling, Spinning, &c. They deserv'd, continues he, a farther Recoyl from the Pope. These Men have always treated Trade as Schismatical: Indeed it thrives only under Liberty, and consequently can never hope for the Favour of the declar'd Enemies to it.

The Archdeacon says, the Queen and the Ecclesiastical State were much tormented with a new Sect call'd, Puritans, who under Pretence, (how useful is that Phrase to them?) of greater Purity in Doctrine and Discipline, endeavour'd to eradicate Things that were well establish'd by the Act aforesaid, and to make Way for their own Novelties; such as Preaching and Praying, Piety and Purity; new Things; very new without doubt, to Persons of the Historian's Sentiments: The Puritans, says Osborn, abhorr'd the Lenity of the Queen, in not countenancing such as bent their Force against the Church of Rome.

We have hinted how he brands the Presbyterians, as Factious, Seditious Enthusiasticks, Broachers of Noveltries, for which they had not the least Authority, either in Scripture or Antiquity. He makes their Rise to be Anno Domini 1564, that very Year and no other; sinking at once the Sentiments of Hooper, Coverdale, Sampson, Humphry, &c. All Fathers of our Church, of which sufficient has been already said. He assures us, Presbytery began just after the Queen visited Cambridge in the Year aforesaid, and ow'd it's Rise to nothing in the World, but the Disgust of Mr. Cartwright of that University; for that the Queen did not like his Disputation, nor his Person, so well as she did Mr. Preston's, to whom accordingly she was more bountiful. Besides, Mr. Preston's Gate was more winning; and Cartwright, while his Resentment

was

was hot, ran away to *Geneva*, to learn the Doctrine and Discipline there, which had never been heard of before in *England*. Such, says he, were the Beginnings of Presbytery; quite contrary to plain Fact, as well known to all judicious Readers of Ecclesiastical History, as that *St. Paul* was at *Rome*, tho' perhaps *St. Peter* never was. When *Mr. Cartwright* return'd home, the Archdeacon tells us, *he rais'd such unhappy Flames, as probably cou'd not be extinguish'd, but by the immediate Hand of Heaven*. I do not think it any Excuse for him, that he copies after *Heylin*: If neither his Judgment nor Integrity cou'd hinder his making use of such vile Authority; the Blame lies at his Door, as much as if the Matter was entirely his own.

The Protestant Refugees and the *Marian* Martyrs were most of them of *Calvin's* Opinion; and how they are treated on that Score by *these Men*, appears in *A. Wood*; who says, the Reverend *Dr. Barlow*, with many others, retir'd, *under Pretence of Religion*; which in another Place he calls a *Mungrel one*. We have seen and shall see, that the Term *under Pretence* is the very Spirit of their Argument, and the very Life of their Laws: They could not have got one Act of Parliament in *Sheldon's* Time, to plunder and imprison their Religious Neighbours, if it had not been for their *Praying and Preaching, under Pretence* of worshipping God. It must be said for these Persecutors, that they *keep Touch*; and their Virtue, Understanding, Piety and Language, are always the same. I cannot help taking Notice of their Unity upon all Occasions: They are not only the most ancient, the most orthodox, the most learned, the most eloquent, the most courtly, the most witty, and the most wise; as in every Page of *Lord Clarendon's* and *Mr. Echard's* History; but they are also the most handsome People in the World; *Mr.*

Cart-

Cartwright, the *Geneva Man*, had neither *Person* nor *Demeanor* ; I never met with any *Vanity* like this but once, and that was in a *French Priest*, who for the Honour of his Nation tells us, in an Account of the *Charibee Islands* ; that upon asking one of the *Cannibals*, which of the *Europeans*, *English*, *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *Dutch* or *French* eat best, cry'd, a *French Man*.

After he has settled the *Æra* of *Prebytery*, as we have related it ; he determines that of her *Sister Puritanism* ; who according to him was just four Years younger, and no more. *The discountenanced Party*, says *Dr. Calamy*, were *servent Preachers and of Holy Lives* ; from whence they were called *Puritans*, not in Commendation of their *Holiness*, but by way of *Irony*, as if 'twas only *under Pretence of Purity*. And tho' there had been such kind of *Pretenders* all along in all Places, where the Impurities of the Church of *Rome* were ; yet our *Historian* fixes the Beginning of *Puritanism*, to *Ann. Reg. Elizabethæ II.* and tells us, 'twas begun by certain *Enthusiasts* of such *Obscurity*, that their Names are hardly to be met with in any other History but his own, which is indeed the properest Place for them. He charges them with being *Sectaries*, for endeavouring to reform after the Pattern of *Geneva*. Thus the *Orthodox* in *Geneva*, *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Holland*, *Scotland*, are with him *Sectaries* in *England* ; and the *English Sectaries* orthodox in all the rest of the *Protestant World*. Instead of these mean Men, why did he not tell us of *Dr. Humphry* and *Dr. Sampson* of *Oxford*, *Dr. Fulke* and *Dr. Whitaker* of *Cambridge*, *Heads*, *Lights* and *Ornaments* of those Universities ? why did he not tell us of the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, the Earls of *Essex*, Father and Son, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Warwick*,

Warwick, the Earl of *Leicester*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Howard*, the Lord *Russel*, Sir *Henry Sydney*, the Famous Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Knollys*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Amias Pawlet*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Henry Telverton*, Sir *Edwyn Sandys*, Mr. *Beal*, Mr. *Winwood*, and several leading Members of the House of Commons, who were either *Puritans* themselves, or Patrons of *Puritanism*; which flourish'd at this Time, not only in Court and City, but in both Universities, as has been observ'd elsewhere. And it cou'd not well be otherwise, when such Great Men as Dr. *Humphrey* and Dr. *Fulk* were in the Chair. I might here name again Archbishop *Grindal*, Bishop *Jewel*, and other Reverend Prelates who favour'd their Principles, for which the Archdeacon calls them *negligent Bishops*. By Negligence here he understands Moderation and Charity. They neglected to persecute and destroy them, to *crush them* in the Egg, as he calls it; and more than once assures us, that those illustrious Lords and Gentlemen were most of no Religion or Principles, but only *thirsted after the Patrimony of the Church*.

The first Bishop who gains his Favour, by endeavouring to pound those *Puritans* to Pieces, was Dr. *Whitgift*, as is related in the First Part; and his Articles and Subscriptions were in a fair Way of crushing the *young Chickens in the Eggs*. He tells us almost in a Breath, that Queen *Elizabeth* pass an *Act* to make Absenters from Church pay twenty Pounds a Month, and *always declar'd Men's Conscience shou'd not be forc'd*; which Things do tally exactly.

'Tis the Way of People, who do not care to depend on the Truth and Justice of their Principles, to enforce them by Laws and coerce Obedience. Oaths and Subscriptions, are some of their
main

main Instruments. The Archdeacon highly recommends that Article of Archbishop *Whitgift's*, which constrains all Ministers to subscribe to the Belief of the Convocation Decrees, as *consonant to the Word of God*. Tho' it is not every Body that can draw a *Creed*, so as to answer every one's Ideas of Things, and to command universal Belief: However, Dr. *Whitgift's* Articles must have Subscriptions, or the Minister no Call. The Archdeacon is a better Protestant than Mr. *Fox* the Martyrologist, a better Divine, and a better every Thing. *Fox* was alive then, in Orders, an Historian, and Dignitary in the Church, as well as himself. He was so far from approving Dr. *Whitgift's* Canons, that he refus'd to subscribe them; tho' our dignify'd Historian shews himself ready to do it, even in the Lump.

How far may Matters be carry'd by the Zeal of active and diligent Men, who will reign arbitrarily over other Men's Judgments? And how hard wou'd it be to fall in with all Interpretations and Declarations which it may produce? Suppose, for Instance, the *Ptolemean* or *Copernican* System was made the Subject of *Subscription*, wou'd it not be a stumbling Block in the Way of some Ministers? Yet Dr. *Prideaux* seems to have hinted something every whit as extraordinary, to which Assent and Consent are requir'd. *Besides the Natural Full Moon*, Pref. 2d Vol. p. 7. *there is an Ecclesiastical Full Moon, that is, a Full Moon Day so call'd by the Church, tho' there be no Natural Full Moon thereon; and of this Ecclesiastical Full Moon the Tables are to be understood*. If those Tables are join'd to the Common-Prayer Book, and Archbishop *Whitgift* forc'd Ministers to subscribe to the Belief of all of it, as *consonant to the Word of God*; How cou'd that be a Means of restoring Peace and Unity to the Church, as he

gravely tells us he did? For as the Moon's Face is so very various, to be oblig'd to subscribe to it, as an Essential in Religion, wou'd not go down with many sober intelligent Christians, especially if they had but the least Smack of Astronomy about them. Cou'd it enter into any one's Head, unless he had been told so, that *Uniformity and Rigor* are synonymous with *Unity and Peace*? But so it is with him, as will appear by comparing this Archbishop's Severities towards the *Paritans*, with his applauded Zeal for Peace and Unity, which we find very little of any where but in Mr. *Echard's Chronicle*. His *Activity* was so vexatious and ruinous to the *pious* Ministers, that the State was forc'd to interpose, and the *Privy Council* wrote him Letters to forbear: Notwithstanding all which, the Historian can never say enough of his *Piety*, which every Body knows to be extreemly consistent with Cruelty. His *Constancy*, his *Courage*, his *Patience*, his *Learning*, his *Diligence*, his *Activity*, are more than once the Subject of his Eulogies. I have often observ'd, that *these Men* do not seem to have the least Notion of true Christian Piety: They can make it exist with *Pride*, *Cruelty*, *Ostentation*, *Power*, *Riches*, *Dignities*, and *Honours* altogether. Let us hear what Men of better Judgment say on this Matter; and learn from the Lords of the Council what *Whitgift* was really advising, when he was restoring Peace to the Church.

Ech. p. 351. " We have heard of late, sundry Complaints
 " against a great Number of Preachers, whereby
 " some were depriv'd of their Livings, some suspended from their Ministry and Preaching, especially such as instruct the People against your
 " spiritual Courts advancing their Profits by such
 " kind of Proceedings; and particularly the lamentable Estate of the Church in the County
 " of

“ of *Essex*, where there is a great Number of
 “ zealous and learned Preachers suspended from
 “ their Cures, the Vacancy of their Place, for
 “ the most part, without any Ministry or Preach-
 “ ing, Prayers, or Sacrament.

’Tis proper here to take notice that Mr. *Echard* has affirmed, that there is no Truth in the Privy Council’s Letter, by declaring, p. 380. that the Archbishop proceeded only with *Sweetness* and *Gentleness*. We have seen above how his *Piety* was gently and sweetly exerted, in turning Ministers out of their Church: Now let us see how ’twas employed in putting others in.

“ And in some Places of certain appointed to
 “ those void Rooms, being Persons neither of
 “ Learning nor of good Names; and in other
 “ Places of the Country, a great Number noto-
 “ riously unfit, chargeable with Ignorance, and
 “ with great enormous Faults, as Drunkenness,
 “ Filthiness of Life, Gamesters at Cards, Haunt-
 “ ing of Alehouses, and such like: Against whom
 “ we hear not of any Proceeding, but that they
 “ are quietly suffer’d, to the Slander of the Church,
 “ to the Offence of good People, yea, to the
 “ famishing them for want of good Teaching, and
 “ thereby dangerous to the Subverting of many
 “ Weaklings from their Duties to God and her
 “ Majesty, by Secret *Jesuits* and Counterfeit Pa-
 “ pists. Dated Sept. 20th, 1584.

I do not believe, there ever was a Set of Men in the World who kept so of a Piece for so many Years, as that Party has done.

A. D. 1584. Preachers ejected, spiritual Courts triumphant.

1684. Ditto.

A. D. 1584. Parsons charg'd with Drunkenness, Whoring, Carding, Tippling in Ale-houses, &c.

1684. Ditto.

Every Syllable of this is sunk by the impartial Mr. *Echard*, who calls those Ministers *Factionous*, whom the Lords of the Council call *Zealous*. And the Archbishop's Behaviour, on this Occasion, giving the Lords no Satisfaction, the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh* wrote another Letter, wherein one may see what little Effect all moderate and charitable Counsels had upon his extraordinary Piety and Patience.

" I am sorry to trouble you so often, but I am
" more troubled my self, not only with many
" private Petitions of sundry Ministers recom-
" mended from Persons of Credit, for peaceable
" Persons, yet greatly troubled; but also am I dai-
" ly now charged by Counsellors and publick Per-
" sons to neglect my Duty in not staying these
" your Grace's Proceedings." Mr. *Echard* con-
tradicts the Lord-Treasurer, and says, they were
not peaceable Men, but Sowers of Sedition, *factionous*
and undeserving.

My Lord *Burleigh* again,

" So vehement and so general against Ministers
" and Preachers, as the *Papists* are hereby greatly
" encourag'd, and evil-disposed Persons animated,
" and thereby the Queen's Majesty's Safety en-
" danger'd; with these Kind of Arguments, am I
" daily assaulted; and now, my Lord, I am come to
" the Sight of an Instrument of 24 Articles, of great
" Length and Curiosity, form'd in a *Romish* Stile,
" which Articles are intitul'd, *Apud Lambeth, 1581.*
" to be executed, *ex Officio mero*, &c. Which Ar-
" ticles I find so curiously penn'd, so full of Branches
" and Circumstances, that I think the *Inquisition*

of *Spain* use not so many Questions to comprehend and to trap their Preys. I know the Canonists can defend these with all their Particles ; but surely, under your Grace's Correction, this judicial and canonical Sifting of poor Ministers, is not to edify and reform ; and in Charity, I think, they ought not to answer to these nice Points, except they were very notorious Offenders in *Papistry* and *Heresy*. I write with the Testimony of a good Conscience, &c. This kind of Proceeding is too much favouring the *Romish* Inquisition, and is rather a Device to seek for Offenders, than to reform any.

I do not find by the Archbishop's Answer, that he was convinced at all by these Letters, of the Irreligion and Injustice of Persecution, but that he glories in his Constancy, and resolves not to yield. These Letters were printed at large about 40 Years ago, in a Treatise call'd the *Harmony between the Old and Present Nonconformists*.

Upon the Earl of *Leicester's* Death, the Place of Chancellor of the University of *Oxford* became vacant, and the Earl of *Essex*, the Son, who had been Dr. *Whitgift's* Pupil at Trinity College *Cambridge*, being a Candidate for it, his Tutor oppos'd him, and got Sir *Christopher Hatton* to be chosen. After which, *Puritanism* lost Ground daily in the Universities, Court and Country ; Preferments were given to those that wou'd do most and car'd most for them ; such probably, as the Lords of the Council mention in their before-mention'd Letters. From Dr. *Whitgift's* first Subscription, may justly be deduc'd all the Mischiefs which have been occasioned by Divisions and Dissensions in the Church ; Ceremony and Power triumph'd over Conscience ; and the Prelates in Archbishop *Whitgift's* Time, and afterwards being generally of the same severe Spirit, there was hardly any Thing heard of but

Silencings, Deprivations, Fines, Imprisonments, Banishments, from the Subscriptions in 1583. to the Covenant in 1643. If the Sufferers complain'd, they were *seditionous* and *factionous*, if they wrote or address'd for Ease, they were *restless*, *turbulent*, and *clamorous*: If they spoke against the old Forms and Fashions before the Reformation, 'twas to introduce their own *Novelties*; and what made their Enemies the more cruel and obstinate, was their Sobriety and Popularity. By their *Writings*, *secret Preachings*, and *godly Lives*, says Calamy, they wrought much on such as were religiously addicted; so that this Opinion spread very much, that a just Parochial Discipline would reform the Church; and that Diocesans by excluding it, cherish'd Vice. The Prelatical Party finding their Places and Power, Lands and Lordships assaulted, thought it necessary more and more to suppress the Promoters of it. The hanging up Mr. Penry of Oxford, mentioned in the former Part, was the more enormous, for that, as A. Wood informs us, his Writings had been unanswerably answer'd by some of the most topping Wits of the Persecuting Principle, in these Admirable Treatises: *Pappe with an Hatchet*, *A Fig for my Godson*, *Crack me this Nut*, *A Country Cuff*, *A Box of the Ear for the Idiot*, written by one that dares call a Dog a Dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Crabtree-Cudgel in Thwackcoat-Lane. *An Almond for a Parrot*: Written by Cuthbert Curry. These witty Pieces have been happily imitated by the succeeding Historians and Wits of the Party, as Nelson, Heath, Heylin, L'Estrange, &c. And it is strange, they shou'd make so much Use of their Gallows and Whips, when their dead-doing Pens were more than sufficient to defend a Cause that wanted Defence more than theirs did.

I have

I have before observ'd what Pains were taken to have it believ'd, that the *Puritans* were carrying on Conspiracies against the Government, *under Pretence* of Religious Meetings; and how frequently Mr. *Echard* insinuates the same Things against them. *Thuanus* tells us, they were charg'd with *Babington's* Plot to deliver the *Popish* Queen of *Scots*, and set her on the Throne of our Protestant Queen *Elizabeth*. There was an *Association* drawn up, ready to be publish'd, as soon as that Queen was murder'd, wherein the Murder was to be laid to the *Puritans*; and the *Papists* declar'd they *associated* only out of *Fear* of them. We have mention'd elsewhere, what *Eucominus* he makes on the Piety of the *Popish* Queen, quite contrary to *Buchanan's* Character of her, and quite contrary to her Actions in offering to marry the Duke of *Norfolk*, when her Husband *Bothwell* was alive. He assures us, *Buchanan* repented of what he had said, in which he was also oppos'd by *Cambden*. Of the latter's Account of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, see what *Osborn* says: *His Lines were directed by King James, and he led rather to vindicate the Honour and Integrity of his Mother, than to do right for a Mistress, that had from a Schoolmaster rais'd him to a Capacity to be first King at Arms.* I have in another Place taken notice of the Archdeacon's Description of Queen *Elizabeth's* convulsive Sorrow, when she heard of the *Scots* Queen's Death: I had forgot what *Osborn* said on that Occasion; but the Disguise in it is so visible, that few besides the Historian cou'd be impos'd upon by it: Her Countenance grew pale, her Spirits fail'd, and poor *Davison* is sacrific'd to this Affectation; *tho' every Body knew, says Osborn, that the executing her was not only the Queen's Desire, but the Act of the Queen and the Council.*

In his Relation of *Hacket's* Enthusiasm, or rather Madnefs, I have in the former Part hinted his joining the *Presbyterians* with him, and loading them with the Guilt of his *Blasphemies*: The Malice and Scandal of this false Insinuation discharge one from all Terms of Decorum. The *Presbyterians* are as far from giving into such Visions, or being misled by Dreams, as the most *Staunch* Churchmen. What wou'd he make of the whole learned Protestant World? What of all the reform'd Universities on the Continent, famous for Virtue as well as Learning? Are they fill'd with Frantiek, Raving, Broachers of Revelations and Prophecies, as he wou'd have us believe, and under the Influence of such infamous Teachers as *Hacket*? *Who*, says he, suddenly took upon him a *Shew* of wonderful Sanctity, bearing Sermons, getting Scriptures by Heart: Thus far he has much of the *Presbyterian* in him; but what's to come, shews the Malignity of his Meaning, counterfeiting Revelations from God, and extraordinary Calls. If a *Presbyterian* pretends to a Call, he does not swear to it, as others are oblig'd to do, tho' they have an Advowson or a Presentation in their Pockets. *Hacket* was highly extoll'd, continues he, by several Zealous Ministers of the Geneva Discipline: They are all Idiots and Blockheads at Geneva: They accounted him as sent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet than Moses or St. John Baptist: Finally, That he was Christ himself. Every Word of which is falser than the Fallest of *Hacket's* Prophecies. 'Tis impossible to stop long enough for Reflection on such a Subject; the Reader must excuse me in this particular; he will not himself have Patience with it, and I have had too much already to have any to spare. He adds, Others exclaim'd against the Function and Calling of Bishops; with whom join'd some common Lawyers, affirming, that
the

the Queen could not depute, nor these Men exercise such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; but the Queen conceiv'd she was shot at through the Sides of the Bishops. Here he insinuates again, that the *Presbyterians* are all *Commonwealths-Men*, and very dangerous in *Monarchical Governments*, tho' there had been no *Monarchy in England*, if they had not done what they did towards restoring it.

One wou'd think, that such a Man as he, who had just been diverting himself with the *Visions and Enthusiasms of the Fanaticks*, should not have the least Spice of it himself; yet, a Line or two afterwards he tells us very formally, that the *Earl of Derby* was conjur'd to Death, *he dy'd with all the infernal Appearances of Magick.*

When he writes the History of the Fall of the Favourite *Earl of Essex*, he brings in the *Presbyterians* again as engag'd in the terrible Plot: The *Plotters* met at his House under Pretence of hearing Sermons; which certainly, as he says, got the ill Will of many, *especially the Clergy*; insomuch, that *Dr. Bancroft*, the then Bishop of London, plant-ed Pikes and Musketeers against him. In this Story there are two or three Omissions, which are intended to screen the Character of *Sir Robert Cecil*, Secretary of State, and the *Earl of Essex's* inveterate Enemy: He informs us, that *Essex* was suspected to have ill Designs against the Queen, in which he was to make Use of the Forces: He commanded in *Ireland* in Conjunction, but it did not fully appear whether the Queen knew of it. Contrary to this is *Mr. Osborn's* Relation: *She entertain'd a fatal Suspicion, that he might, thro' the Assistance of the Irish and English Army, already wholly at his Devotion, attempt some Novelty; a dismal Whisper, the opposite Faction did hourly inspire her withal; and to give it a deeper Tincture of Probability, Sir Robert Cecil gain'd leave of the Queen*

to advertise Essex, first of her being past Hope, and after her Death, stopping in the mean while all Ships else, but what came loaded with this fatal Intelligence; and to secure her Person, no less than his own, the English Militia were rais'd. Another Omission of his is that of Sir Henry Lee, who, for only wishing well to that Lord and his Friends in the Tower, suffer'd Death. Another Person also was executed in *Smithfield*, for writing News of their Apprehension, to his Father that was out of *London*. These Severities were owing to the Uneasiness of the Queen both in Mind and Body; which occasion'd her complying too much with the Passions of *Cecil* and *Howard*, and the intemperate Zeal of Dr. *Whitgift*. *Cecil's* great Merit was his Concern to secure the Succession to the Crown for King *James* of *Scotland*, without any previous Provision for the Security of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

I shall not endeavour to vindicate the *Puritans* in all their Ways; I am only shewing, that the most learned and most pious Divines were of their Opinion at all Times, where a *Reformation* was begun, and particularly in ours; that their Principles were not Novelties; that their Preachings and Practices were such as gain'd them the Good-will of the People, and that the invincible Obstinacy and unchristian-like Behaviour of their Opponents, were the true Causes of all the Mischiefs which happen'd to King *James* and King *Charles* the First. What said Archbishop *Williams* to Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp*, when they wou'd have perswaded him to persecute the *Puritans*? *I will not bring them upon me, for I am sure they will carry all Things at last.* Their old English Principles, and if there was no more in it, an Appearance of Piety and Virtue, could not fail of being too hard for the oppressive Government of Ecclesiastical Statesmen, and

and open Profaneness and Impiety in the succeeding Reigns. Queen *Elizabeth's* Royal Virtues carry'd her thro' any Imperfections in *Politicks*; and shone so brightly, that a few Spots in her Administration were not visible. Her hearty unaffected Zeal for the Protestant Religion in general, made her Partiality to one Part of it the more tolerable, but it was not so with her Successor, nor his Son. There was no Glory to brighten any Darkness: Every Step was weak or rash; and Mr. *Echard's* running so high as *human* Nature it self, to find Causes for their Frailties, is equally vain and ridiculous. 'Tis very plain, the Discontents grew as fast as the Grievances; and the Hardships the *Puritans* labour'd under were the most apparent, and the most intolerable Grievance; to which the persecuting Party gave another Turn, and complimented those two Princes upon it, as the most heavenly Marks of Christian Zeal and Piety. All sober thinking Men thought as Bishop *Williams* did, that the Male-Administration, from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* to *Laud's* Ministry, could end no otherwise than it did; and yet instead of soft Medicines in such a sharp Distemper, still did the State Empyricks make use of the most acute and corrosive.

CHAP. II.

*Observations on Mr. Echard's History of
the Reign of King James I.*

I Have often thought, that the Historical Materials, from King James's Accession to the Throne, to his Son King Charles's setting up his *Standard* in the War against the Parliament, could never fall into Hands more equal to the Subject than our Historians; for besides, that the *Spiritual Courts* are full of Business, and the poor *Puritans* are scampering away from them in all Parts of *England*, there are no other Affairs to hinder his political and orthodox Reflections, but Coronations, Creations, Consecrations, Proclamations, Processions, Christnings and Burials. No Foreign Wars and Alliances, no Treaties of Peace and Commerce, no meddling with the Balance of Power, nor increasing the Glory of *England*. The *English* are baffled in all their Negotiations, and disgrac'd in all their Enterprizes. The Applications made to them by Foreigners are all Form and Ceremony, and the Applications of the *English* to Foreigners usefess, and sometimes shamefess. *Foreign Princes*, says Osborn, became so well acquainted with his Complexion, speaking of King James, that his Promise did not incite them either to Hope or Fear, or raise in any of them the Passions of Love and Hatred. This is the *Pacifick* Reign which makes such an amiable Figure in Mr. Echard's Chronicle. In a word, if it was not for the Chasm,

and

and I was so great a Chronicler as himself, I wou'd do as a Writer, what I have often done as a Reader, skip over the first forty Years after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death.

He informs us, that Archbishop *Whitgift* said, King *James* spoke at the *Hampton-Court* Conference, *by the Spirit of God*, in Favour of *Common-Prayer*. But if it had lain in his Way, he would never have told us what we read in *Calderwood's* History of the Church of *Scotland*, p. 256. that when he spoke in the eighth Session of the General Assembly held at *Edinburgh*, Aug. 4. 1590. He said these Words: *The Kirk of Geneva keep Pasch and Yule, whereof no Institution. And as for our Neighbour Kirk of England, their Service is an evil-said Mass in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the Liftings; but the Kirk of Scotland is the sincerest in the World.* As to the before mentioned Conference, one can think no other, than that four *Presbyterians* were nominated to make Submission for the rest of their Brethren; and that the Colloquy was order'd on purpose to give the King an Opportunity to shew his Parts and Learning. It was now a Question, says Mr. *Echard*, whether the *Jesuits* or *Non-conformists* were the greatest Enemies to the Church of England: That is, whether *Popish* Zealots or *Presbyterian* Ministers hated Protestants most. We all know who are the Men that cry out always, 'tis better be a *Papist* than a *Presbyterian*: Yet the Archdeacon affirms, the latter are as great Enemies to the Church as the *Jesuits*. He adds, of 10000 Ministers in *England*, there were but 49 that stood out against the *Uniformity* Proclamation, which *Osborn* makes mention of. *Echard* assures us, that *Uniformity* Proclamation was according to Law; but not a Word of what *Osborn* observes, as to the Expiration of that Law on the Death of the Queen. He has a very happy Expression about the

Contents

Contents of that Edict; it was to *reduce* the Dissenters to Reason. When the French King used to send out his Dragoons to destroy the Protestants of France, the Term was always to *reduce them to Obedience*. And now Archbishop Bancroft order'd Detachments of Paritors, Constables, Jaylors, &c. to reduce those Conscientious Ministers, who stood out in their scrupulous Consciences. The Archdeacon's 49 are above 300 in Dr. Calamy, who were suspended, silenc'd and depriv'd. He names some of them, who were Men of Eminence and Worth, as *Hilderham, Dod, Parker, Sherwood, Midgley, Burgess, Bourn, Bain, Bradshaw, Taylor, Paget, Carter, Bates, Rothwell, Bronghton, Brightman, Wootton, Jacob, Pike, Nicolls, &c.* What a worthy Prelate this Bancroft was, appears from the Archdeacon's own Character: *His Rigor and Severity weaken'd the Church of England.* The Spirit of this Man bore so much Resemblance with *Popish Tyranny and Cruelty*, that all pious and wise Men conceiv'd an Abhorrence of his Ministry; and no Wonder the Party of the Puritans increas'd daily. Yet Mr. *Echard*, from that poor Libeller *Nelson*, assures us; *nothing is more true than that the Papists were great Promoters of Puritanism*; which had never been heard of in England, but for a just Hatred and Fear of Popery. *Cambden* too out of his great Affection to Monckery, and Concern for the Fate of the Fryars and Nuns, informs us, that the Moderation of those excellent Prelates, *Grindal, Jewell, Sandys, Pilkington, Bentham, Parkhurst, Alley, Best, &c.* was only Negligence; and the Favour of the most illustrious of the Protestant Nobility shewn to the Puritans, was not the Effect of their Esteem for their Piety and Virtue, but a Thirsting after the Church's Patrimony. They wanted to swallow the Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands, which in the Cant of these Men

Men are the Patrimony of the Church, and in common Right and Sense are the Lands only of the Bishops, Deans and Chapters. Why will they not tell us, where the *Patrimony* of the *Primitive Church* lay! Where were her Lordships, Mannors, Prerogatives, Courts, Castles, Palaces, before the *Romish* Usurpations in the barbarous Ages? If any of them do really know any Thing of History, why, instead of bragging and *bouncing* of Succession and Inheritance, will they not tell these plain Things; which wou'd for ever stop the Mouths of all Gainsayers?

I do not by this insinuate, that the Clergy have not as *Legal* a Right to their Possessions and Revenues as the Laity; for doubtless they have; but I do intend, that the Rents and the Baronies are the Bishops by Law; the Lands the Deans and Chapters; the Tythes and the Glebes the Parsons, rightfully and lawfully; and if any particular Church has Rents belonging to it, they are the Parish's, for repairing, supporting or beautifying their Place of meeting. Instead of applying to the Heralds Office, and enquiring of a King at Arms, to know what a Church is; Let us learn of that Blessed Martyr, *John Lambert* of Cambridge, a Disciple of three other Holy Martyrs, *Tindal*, *Bilney* and *Frieth*, in his Answer to the Bishop's Articles against him, *temp. Hen. VIII.* For the Church, says he, I do take it to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinated to be Inheritors of Eternal Bliss and Salvation, whether they be Temporal or Spiritual, King or Subject, Bishop or Deacon, Father or Child, Grecian or Roman. *St. Austin* speaks of the Church dispers'd thro' the whole World, confessing the Gospel with one Consent. Where is her Patrimony? Where her Revenues, her Splendors and Powers? which dazzle the Eyes of the Historian during the whole Course of *Whitgift's*, *Bancroft's* and *Laud's* Inthronizations. *Luther*

ther in his Answer to a Bull against him, describes the Pope's Church thus: *Her Pride and Presumption have grown so far, that she trusting upon her own Power, without all Learning and Holiness of Life, proudly taketh upon her to prescribe Laws to all Men; as tho' for Dominion only and Loftiness of Spirit, she were to be counted the House and Church of Christ; whereas by this means, Satan also, the Prince of the World, or the Turks might be accounted the Church of Christ.* 'Tis true, Dominion and Power cannot be supported without Revenues and Riches. The Pope's Church must have Territories and Taxes, and accordingly the Term *Patrimony* is apply'd to the Provinces in *Italy*, which have been seiz'd and possess'd by the Successors of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, one or both. *Camden*, and after him, *Echard* and others, affect that very Term for the Semblance it bears to *St. Peter's* Patrimony and the *Romish* Empire, and one can't think otherwise, but that they are more captivated with what remains of the Semblances of that Church, than with the Purity and Simplicity of the *Reformation*. I must be so plain with them as to confess, that I think the Laws of *England* cannot be guilty of Sacrilege; and that Bishops Lands are as much in the Power of the Legislature, as the Lands of Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, &c. How thin are the Disguises of these Men? How vain and ambitious their Pretences? How sophistical and mundane their Arguments? Archbishop *Bancroft* before mentioned, according to *Osborn*, was *very jealous of the Clergy's Revenue, and very zealous for Uniformity*; whether he did it from a Principle of Religion or Domination, one may guess a little by the Opinion People had of his Holiness; which appears in these Rhimes. *Osborn*, p. 379.

Here

*Here lies my Lord's Grace at Six and at Seven,
And, if I don't lie, his Soul is in Heaven.
I wish with my Heart it may be to his Leeking,
Since all the World knows it was never his Seeking.*

Again, *Bancroft was for Plays,
Lean Lent, and Holidays,
But now under goes their Doom:
Had English Ladies Store,
Yet kept open a Back Door,
To let in the Strumpet of Rome.*

The same Author tells us seriously, *It was thought he own'd most of the Popish Tenents*: This was the Man, who depriv'd and ruin'd so many hundred Protestant Ministers of the Gospel, for not setting their Hands to what he wou'd have them. I am the more fond of Mr. Osborn's Authority, because he was a Gentleman; and I generally find the Writings of well-bred Men most free from the Craft and Biass of Writers of a Profession. Osborn informs us honestly, why it was, that the Puritans were so cruelly dealt with by Bancroft and Laud; that the Indulgence to Papists might be the better born with by Bigots. Now to take off his Subject's Eyes from observing the Indulgency us'd by the King in Behalf of Papists, whom, tho' he had no Cause to love, he found Reason enough to fear, a Quarrel was reviv'd with the People stiled Puritans; a Name of Contempt, of which all Conscientious Men in the Nation had a Share. He continues, *this made the wicked glory in their Impiety*. Not a Word of all this in the Archdeacons impartial History. He adds, People, who had no Grace at all, were ashamed of pretending to any, and Hypocrisy would do no Service; his own Words are, The Discourtenance these Conscientious Men met with, was the

Cause, that such as had not an extraordinary Measure of Grace, were ashamed of any outward Professions of Sanctity. Thus Hypocrisy it self became scandalous, because 'twas suspected not to be what it was, Hypocrisy, but downwright Religion; and when all other Forms were enforced, that of Godliness lay under Reproach. Hopeful Times these! No body charg'd with it, says he, was thought competent for Preferment in Church or Commonwealth; such as out of meer Honesty refrained the Vices of the Time, were branded by the Title of Puritans; and it became no better than a Fool's Coat to Men only Conscientious: To avoid this Imputation, our Divines, for the Generality, did sacrifice more Time to Bacchus than Minerva, and drew the Laity into a like Excess: Their ordinary Studies were School Points and passionate Expressions, as more conversant with the Fryars than the Fathers. They scorn'd Luther and Calvin in their ordinary Discourses; I my self heard a Bishop say to a Person, speaking of the Latter; I THANK GOD I NEVER READ HIM. The same Bishop said in a Sermon, Our Religion like the King's Arms, stands between two Beasts, the PURITAN and PAPIST. Let us now look into Echard, and see if we can find the least Hint of such History, which doubtless is a faithful Picture of the Time; the Author being a Man of Honour, who liv'd then at Court. King James, says the Archdeacon, acted with great Reputation, with Respect to the Establish'd Church, both as to the Settlement of the Revenues, that's always uppermost, and the famous Conference with the Dissenters. I have observ'd in the first Part, that Osborn assures us, this very famous Conference was so far from settling Matters, that it render'd Puritanism dangerous, which was not so before. He adds wittily, the Puritans overcame the King in all Things, but Logick and Power. The Complaints of

of those *Protestant* Sufferers, which *Echard* calls *loud Outcries*, so mov'd the People, that the *Puritan* Party encreas'd daily, tho' it was the Business of the State to suppress them, which he tenderly calls *discourage*. And truly it cannot be said, but that the State minded that business, with the Archbishop's Help, as well as cou'd be, unless they had been all banish'd or knock'd on the Head. He adds, now began the Popular Name of *Innovation*: the Lord knows without any manner of Reason, as he wou'd insinuate: Yet his very next Words are, *Books of Sports*, a Licence for breaking the Sabbath, for *tippling, dancing, gaming* on the *Lord's Day*; and if that was not *Innovation*, which the Christian Church abhor'd when it was most corrupt, I will submit to his Correction, as the most exact and impartial Historiographer, that ever wrote History Ecclesiastical or Civil.

To countenance these *Discouragements*, the *Puritans* are jumbled with the *Papists* in the *Gunpowder Plot*. There was a Proclamation drawn, charging them with it, 'twas printed, and ready to be publish'd, as we are inform'd by *Du-Moulin*, but suppress'd upon the Discovery of that *Hellish Conspiracy*. This Proclamation was seen and read by *Dr. Parker* Dean of *Lincoln*, *Sir William Ellis* Recorder of that City, &c. *Mr. Puckering*, a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, a noted *Puritan*, was to have been brought into the Plot. The Contrivance thus: One of the Conspirators of that County shou'd have borrow'd *Mr. Puckering's* Horse; and when the Blow was given, have kill'd that Horse in his Flight, and left it by the Way, as a Proof of its Owner's Guilt and Fear. 'Tis generally believ'd, that the first Discovery of this Plot was by the Lord *Morley* and *Monteagle's* Letter; tho' there are some who affirm, that the *French* King had the Information from the *French* Jesuits,

Jesuits, and having been once a Protestant himself, had so much Kindness for our Protestant Constitution, as to prevent it's Destruction in that of the Parliament, by giving King *James* Notice of it, for which he was himself murder'd not long after. *Osborn* is of Opinion, that the Treatment of the Lord *Morley* renders this Account the more probable ; *He never found any Signal Favour or Respect given by the Court to him.* Directly opposite to this is Mr. *Echard*, who assures us, he had a Gift of 200 *l.* a Year in Fee Farm Rents, and 500 *l.* a Year during Life, as a Reward for his good Service. I have wonder'd how the *Papists*, who were very much in Favour with King *James*, cou'd be so rash, as to enter into this damnable Conspiracy ; but a Protestant cannot account for the Wickedness of *Popish* Priests and Jesuits. The latter were sure of the good Will of King *Charles II.* and yet they conspir'd to send him out of the World six or seven Years before he left it. *Osborn* does not very well explain himself, when he speaks of the Gunpowder Plot. *They wanted Patience*, says he, *to attend their better Fortune; which no Time since the Dissolution of the Abbies was more likely to have brought about, had they not manifested such foul Play.* King *James* holding, No Bishop, no King, for as real an Article in the Mystery of Monarchy, as they did, No Ceremony, no Bishop, in that of the Hierarchy. We are told that the French King did not give King *James* Advice of the Gunpowder Plot, out of any Affection to his Person, but fearing a more Heroick Prince should come in his Place, and to use *Osborn's* own Words, that he should exchange *Herb John* for *Colloquintida*. I will not leave the Gunpowder Plot without remembring an Incident which is not in Mr. *Echard's* or the common Histories. The Letter by which the Plot was discover'd, was written by
Tresham

Tresham, one of the Plotters, who dy'd in the *Tower* a few Days after the Discovery ; but his Head was cut off, and put upon *London Bridge*, with the Heads of his Fellow Conspirators. One of the most important Things in the Archdeacon's History of this Reign, is *Mendoza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador's Audience of Congratulation upon King *James's* escaping the *Gunpowder Treason*, which it is said, was first hatch'd in the Dominions of *Spain*. To this he adds a particular Description of the Present *Mendoza* made him : *A curious Robe of Murry Sattin, twice embroider'd about every Seam and Skirt with Gold, the Fore Part of which was set with forty eight Taggs, three Inches long, of beaten Gold, hollow within, and fill'd with Amber-grease ; also two large Chains of Gold, two rich Car-kanel's, a Velvet Cap with Gold Buttons finely enamel'd, and a Girdle suitable to the Buttons ; all which were put into a Capacious Vessel of Gold in Form of a Bason.* Here's the Dignity of History and Eloquence ; what a Loss have we, that *Livy* has not handed down to us the Broidery, Fringe, and Cut of the *Roman* Consuls Robes in their Triumphs ! How happily might our Painters and Players have dress'd their Heroes. Some may think it had been no great Matter, if this fine Coat had never had Place any where but in the Wardrobe ; for the taking of it from the Hand of a *Spaniard*, when the Plot it self came from *Spain*, is such a Farce, that 'twould hardly pass on the Stage. The Flattery was so gross, that the Pope cou'd not help laughing in the Face of Cardinal *D'Ossat*, when he told him the Story, as that Cardinal inform'd his Master *Hen. IV.* in one of his Letters ; which probably the Archdeacon wou'd have put in his Book if he had known it, or the Incident had consisted with that *Consummate Wisdom*, which he makes to be the *Characteristick* of King *James*, ever since the *Hampton-Court Conference*. E 3 I have

I have hinted in the first Volume, how the *Laudæans* alter'd the Coronation Oath for King *Charles I.* and King *James II.* Objection has been made to this plain Fact as well as others, tho' the changing that Oath by those Men was no new Thing. When King *James I.* was crown'd by Archbishop *Whitgift*, we are told by Dr. *Cowel*, afterwards Vicar-General to Archbishop *Bancroft*, in a Treatise, call'd the *Interpreter*, that *the King took not the usual Oath all Kings are bound unto at their Coronation.* Such has been the Practice of that sort of Clergy ever since they have had the Ear of our Sovereigns. They have complimented them with the Rights and Privileges of their Fellow Subjects, to have their Prerogatives under the King's, which has been asserted by them to be without Limit. The same Dr. *Cowel*, Master of *Trinity-Hall Cambridge*, having dropt an Expression in the same Book, that the King's *Prerogative* was in more Cases limited; his Book, the *Interpreter*, was called in by Proclamation, as *pernicious and against the Honour of the Crown.* How long wou'd it have been before any Author of the Archdeacon's *Kidney* wou'd have told us these Truths, and inform'd us, how soon after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death, they began their Attempts to destroy the *Old English* Constitution, and establish a Mungrel one of Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny. The Author of a Letter to King *William*, printed in 1698, sets us right in this Matter. He is speaking of Queen *Elizabeth's* affecting a Popular Government, which none of her Successors did till the Reign of that glorious King, tho' he knew better how to deserve, acquire and maintain Power than all the four Kings who preceeded him. 'King *James*,
' *says the Writer of the Letter*, was not in his Nature inclin'd to pursue this Honourable Method;
' his Thoughts seem to be set on his own Power,
' and

and the Flattery of the Court was more pleasing
 to him, than the General Interest of his King-
 dom. *Find this too, if you can, in Echard.* He
 had got some superficial Skill in the Arts and Sci-
 ences, and a profound Knowledge as he thought
 in Divinity: He made his Court to the Divines
 of the Church of England, that they being ap-
 priz'd of his great Learning, might in their Wri-
 tings celebrate his Fame; and truly they have
 not at all been deficient in suitable Returns.
 The *Archdeacon's History* is nothing else than a
 Panegyrick on the Felicities and Glories of
 his Reign, owing entirely to his superior Genius
 and Wisdom. They insinuated to the People his
 great Knowledge in all sorts of divine and human
 Learning. Hereupon, at his first coming to the
 Crown, he industriously assisted the Bishops and
 Church Party against the Puritans, whom the
 Church look'd upon as no less than her Ene-
 mies. Mr. *Echard* says positively they were so,
 because tho' they cou'd endure, yet they did not
 admire her Bishops and Ceremonies: In this
 manner that King found out his Expedient in
 the Church Party, which admir'd and almost
 ador'd his deep Learning, comparing him oft to
 Solomon, &c. So did Henry IV. of France, but
 not exactly in the same Terms, nor with the
 same Meaning. "Tis no Wonder therefore,
 that all the Weaknesses and Disgraces of this Reign
 are slur'd over; and the least Glympse of Light is
 represented, as the Rays of a Meridian Sun. From
 hence it is, that the King is the foremost Figure
 in Mr. *Echard's* Picture of the Hampton-Court Col-
 loquy, not as a Monarch, but as a Divine.
 Throughout all this remarkable Conference, says he,
 in every Point that was mov'd or came to be discuss'd,
 the King shew'd such a Knowledge and Readiness, as
 rais'd no small Admiration in all the Hearers. The

Lord Chancellor Egerton, being surpriz'd to see him so expeditious and perfect in all kinds of Divinity, said, that he found now that a King was a mixt Person with a Priest. Then comes the most pious and learned Saying, of that most pious and learned Man, says Echard, Archbishop Whitgift. *I am verily perswaded the King speaks by the Spirit of God.* There's nothing like it in History, and one can hardly meet with a Passage at once more lamentable and more laughable. His Majesty's Way of Argumentation may be found in Echard's own Chronicle, carrying great Cogency and Conviction with it. *I will have none of that opposing the Surplice, or using the Crosse, but that a Time be limited by the Bishops of every Diocese, and such as will not submit, let them be turn'd out.* Here's Knowledge and Readiness to Admiration. There were other pleasing Things spoken by the King, with like Strength of Reason; *Those that will not conform, I will have enforc'd to it.* A very short Way it must be own'd; and Mr. Echard blesses himself in the Lord Chancellor's Surprize at his Majesty's Expedition in dispatching this Conference.

The Historian had told us in the Beginning of this Reign, that one of King James's first Actions was the making two Papists Privy Counsellors; which must needs give great Hopes to all that were Friends to a *Thorough Reformation*: In Reality, says he, *this was convenient*, for fear the Papists should have set one of their own Religion upon the Throne. But what Danger would the Church have been in, had he made two Presbyterians Privy Counsellors? 'Tis very easy to perceive *these Men* wou'd lose nothing but their Religion if Popery prevail'd; but if *Presbytery*, they must part with Honours, Powers, and Revenues, which is enough to set a Man's Zeal on Fire. I have hinted already, that

that this whole Reign is a kind of Blank in the History of *England*, stript of its State Formalities and Trifles; it appears nakedness it self; yet the Archdeacon is as busy as if that Period had been like the six glorious Years of Queen *Anne's* Reign, as full of Action and Triumph, which indeed are to be met with plentifully in the spiritual Courts, where Protestant Dissenters were reduc'd by Prosecution, almost as entirely as the *French* were by the Duke of *Malborough's* Victories.

Having told us of six or seven *Proclamations*, we are led by the Historian to the King's first Speech in Parliament; wherein, among other Things, *he own'd the Church of Rome to be our Mother Church; and if it was not for the Pope and his Disciples asserting the King-killing Doctrine, he should be content to meet them half Way.* Whoever will compare this Speech with that before-mentioned in *Calderwood* spoke to the *Scotch Kirk*, will find his Majesty is already got more than half Way. For my part, I must confess, I do not understand this Speech, if the Archdeacon does: I know what is meant by Superstition and Idolatry, and what by Purity and Piety, but I am to be inform'd which is the Half-way House. Mr. *Echard* owns the *Puritans* were offended at it. It is with great Astonishment, that he hears they did not like to be call'd Sons of a Mother, who had often made herself drunk with the Blood of her Issue. He tells us all the People of *England* were Idiots, that were afraid such Speeches might give Encouragement to *Papists*, and *founded their Fears on the Shallows of their own Fancy*; while the House of Lords and House of Commons stood in Admiration again of his *Majesty's Abilities*; which he then gives us another Instance of, in passing *an Act to secure Church Lands*; a Proof of his Majesty's Care of Religion, that

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ought not to be omitted, as the Archdeacon very justly observes.

Gondemar, the Minister of *Spain*, is generally said to be a Cabinet-Councillor and Favourite in this Reign, and he always endeavour'd to persuade King *James*, that the *Puritans* talk'd of *Reformation*, but they aim'd at nothing but Anarchy; which increas'd that Prince's Aversion to the Religion in which he was bred, that of *Geneva*, *Scotland*, &c. And tho' he did not know very well how to acquire Dominion, he was as jealous of, and as much delighted with it, as the *Alexanders* and *Cæsars*.

That which is called *Raleigh's Plot*, has been treated by all Writers as one of the most whimsical unintelligible Businesses, which History was ever puzzled with, till the Sham Plots after the Restoration made way for Mr. *Echard's Stinging Acts* against Protestant Dissenters: Neither *Raleigh's Plot*, nor those other sham ones will admit of any libicrous Reflections, they being stain'd with Blood. The Lord *Cobham's* Brother, Mr. *Brook*, Mr. *Watson*, and one *Clark* a Priest, were executed for Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Conspiracy at *Winchester*. Sir *Walter* was condemn'd too, being tir'd out of his Life by the Bawling of the King's Council, a Practice very common in the Four Reigns after Queen *Elizabeth's*; but the Jury were so ill satisfy'd with their own Verdict, that some of 'em fell down upon their Knees, and begg'd his Pardon. Mr. *Echard*, who lets us into the Causes and Springs of Men's Actions, and generally resolves all into Disgust for some Disappointment, informs us, that Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Discontent arose from his being turn'd out of his Place of Captain of the Guard. But *Osborn*, who is not us'd to such a mean way of Thinking, assures us, that

that his Hatred to the *Spaniards*, and opposing a Peace with them, made King *James* and his Ministers glad to get him out of the Way. This Plot was so little believ'd, that after his Condemnation he was kept Prisoner fifteen Years, and then made General of a Fleet and Army in that King's Service, which imply'd more than a Pardon; yet, lest it should be an Obstacle to the *Spanish Match*, that illustrious Captain, Statesman, and Scholar, at his Return home, had his Head cut off, *under Pretence* of an obsolete antiquated Sentence. Mr. *Osborn* tells us, the People wish'd it on the King's Secretaries Shoulders. This Babarous Act caus'd such a Clamour, that King *James* thought it necessary to publish an Apology. *Osborn* says, the King, according to the Mode of weak and ill consulted Princes, set forth in Print a Declaration, which, according to the ordinary Success of such Apologies, rendered the Condition of that Proceeding worse in the World's Opinion: It began thus; *Tho' I take my self bound to give no other Account of my Actions but to God; yet, &c.* Instead of such Natural Reflections as these, the *Archdeacon* declares Sir *Walter's* Death to be an Indication of the Hand of Heaven, for his Acceptance of some Church Lands in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign.

When I meet with a very wise and ingenious Passage in his Books, such as the Mine of Brass, and the like, I cannot but touch upon it a little, tho' it is not political or ecclesiastical. The following is of the same Kind: Shortly after, there appear'd a mighty Blazing Star in *Libra*, which occasioned variety of Conjectures concerning its Influence and Prognostication. Many thought it portended the Death of Queen *Anne*, who, after its Appearance, died of a Dropsy: A very common Way of Dying, and hardly worth the coming of a Comet for it. He brought this Queen to Britain thro' a Storm
rais'd

rais'd by Magick, and he carries her out of the World with a *Blazing Star* in her Company. I wish Monsieur Bayle had met with any such Passage as this, when he wrote his Treatise of *Blazing Stars*, he wou'd probably have given us the Reason of the Comet's being attracted by the Queen's Dropsy, tho' she would most certainly have dy'd of it, if it had not had a Sting in its Tail. I do verily believe, I might pass for as good a Conjuror as the Historian, if I declar'd it as my Opinion, that the Comet in 1680, prognosticated the Writing of his History, it being the most *prodigious* Thing that has appear'd since. I much wonder Mr. Echard had not placed his *Blazing Star* to the Account of the Synod of *Dort*, where near 100 *Presbyterian* Ministers were met about the same Time, which must needs strengthen the Interest of *Calvinism*. Among them appear'd an *English* Bishop, and four or five Doctors of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*: The more remarkable, for that those *Dort* Divines would every one of them have been *Schismaticks*, had they cross'd the Water without episcopal Ordination: They all came from Places where Mr. Echard's *Novel Discipline* was in full Force.

As for the Treatment that most unfortunate Prince, the King of *Bobemia*, and his most Religious and Beautiful Queen, met with from King *James*, it fills one so much with Concern and Amazement, is in all Points so weak and unnatural, and in its Consequences was so scandalous and fatal to the Protestant Name and Interest, that 'twill not bear Repetition or Remark. Let Mr. Echard run from Place to Place, from Post to Pillar, with the Ambassadors he speaks of, who were no more minded in any of the Courts of *Europe*, than were his Grandson, King *James's*, at the Treaty of *Ryswick*. The Matter admits of no Palliation.

Palliation. Our Hearts are all so bound up, in whatever concerns the Royal House of *Hanover*, that they must bleed afresh, as often as we read the Story of the Sufferings of his Majesty's Royal Grandfather and Grandmother, who were abandon'd by their Father King *James*, when the People of *England* were ready and earnest to support them.

Instead of promoting Piety and Morality, Sobriety and Virtue, Temperance and Regularity, in these Mr. *Echard's* glorious Times of the Church, Riot, Luxury, and Profusion, were never more countenanced. 'Tis true, Prince *Henry*, a most belov'd Prince, as we are inform'd by *Osborn*, govern'd his House with much Discretion, Modesty, Sobriety, and Piety, not swearing himself, nor keeping any that did, which was look'd upon as too great upbraiding the contrary Proceedings of his Father. Thus, without taking Care of Religion, a Prince, according to the Archdeacon, may have a Religious Care of the Church: And besides the laudable Zeal for the Security of Church Lands, he tells us, the Clergy in Convocation pass many excellent Canons for the Church's Honour. He adds, it was a great Blemish to Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, that she had not the same Religious Care. So it is in the Writings of these Men: They seem to affect a Distinction between the Spiritual and Temporal Kingdom of Christ; and tho', perhaps, they may not be *Millenarians*, yet they are all for a Reigning on this side Heaven. The Episcopal Clergy, says Mr. *Osborn*, have a natural Propensity to dilate their Power, which has produc'd many excellent Canons and Articles, as the Archdeacon very religiously observes; but does not tell us a word of the Preachings at this Time, to advance the King's Prerogative above the Laws, and set up Will and Pleasure, instead of Statute and Charter. *Hinc illæ Lacrymæ!* 'Twas the Flattery of these Preachers,

Preachers, so grateful to King *James*, that put him upon an Arbitrary Government, unknown to the most Victorious of the *Plantagenets* and *Tudors*: And it is strange, that such a bold Breach in the *English* Constitution, should be attempted by a Prince, who had so little in him of an enterprizing Genius. The Doctrine of absolute Power, which begat *Non-Resistance* and *Passive-Obedience*, was now first solemnly declar'd in the Pulpit. See *Osborn*, p. 443. The Court Sermons inform'd his Majesty, *that he might, as Christ's Vicegerent, command all; and that the People, if they denied him Supplement, or enquir'd after the Disposure of it, were presumptuous Peepers into the sacred Ark of the State, not to be done but under the severest Curse.* Again, *From the Pulpit came all our future Miseries, God not being serv'd there as he ought. If this should be prosecuted to its furthest Extent, it wou'd moderate, if not expunge, all the Villany legible in Story.* To these he adds some *Brainsick* Fools, whom King *James* call'd *Protestants* scar'd out of their Wits. But I am apt to believe, those *Brainsick* Fools could not do so much Mischief as those hot-brain'd Preachers, who kept what little Wit they had in their Heads, and made the worst Use of it. These Reflections of *Mr. Osborn* will be a very good Antidote, when the Reader enters into the Year 1640, & seq. He will find the Archdeacon making a horrid *Sintamar* with the *Puritan* Pulpit Drums, as if they had beaten the first Alarum to the Nation; whereas, by what is said above, we see that the Court Sermons in King *James* the First's Reign, flatter'd that Prince into a mistaken Opinion of the Prerogative; which was confirm'd by the *Montagues*, *Mamwarings*, and *Sibthorps*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the First; and the Grievances and Oppressions which ensued, caus'd those Breaches between King and Parliament, which ended in a Civil War.

Dr. *Harfnet*, another of these Court Preachers, in a Sermon before the King, in Time of Parliament, said *Goods and Money were Cæsar's, and therefore not to be deny'd him.* The Parliament took Offence. The Sermon was burnt by the Hangman; but the Doctor soon after was made Bishop of *Norwich*. King *James* in this setting an Example to his Son, who, for the like Preachment, made *Montague* and *Manwaring* Bishops, after they had been censured by the Parliament. Excellent Politicks, and like to come to something! These Princes seem'd to reign in spite; and if an unpopular Step could be taken, they never miss'd taking it; from which, what could be expected but the Rupture that ensued? This is the true History of the Rise of that Unhappy War, as well known as King *James's* profuse and pacifick Temper; yet, what Pains are taken by the Lord *Clarendon*, Mr. *Echard*, and other Historians, to charge the *Puritans* with the Cause and Consequences of those miserable Distractions?

King *James* and his Son, and Successors, to shew the Approbation of the Court Sermons, rewarding the Preachers with both Spiritual and Temporal Preferments, a strong Party was soon form'd which maintain'd the *Prerogative Royal* against *Privilege of Parliament*. The Universities swarm'd with the Broachers of this dangerous Doctrine. In the next Reign, they were term'd *Laudæans* and *Cavaliers*; in the next *Tories*, and in our Times, *Staunch Churchmen*. So open, so visible, is the Spring from whence flow all our Divisions, and the dire Effects of them; for there never was, and never will be, a Time, when the Maintainers of such desperate Tenents shall inculcate them without Opposition. This is what the Archdeacon calls *Sedition* and *Faction*; till King *James* the Second fell upon those very Men themselves, and touch'd them in the most tender Part, their Revenues:

venues : They then became the most factious and seditious, and at last, as that King calls them himself in his Declaration from *St. Germain's*, the most *rebellious*. Thus, no Notice is to be taken of them when they pretend to Loyalty and Obedience ; they never talk'd of them, but when they were humour'd in their persecuting Spirit, and the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of our Protestant Brethren, were at their Mercy. 'Tis strange, so good a Cause as theirs is, should always happen to flourish only, under weak, inactive, and arbitrary Princes. Those Kings and Queens, who have been truly the *Fathers* and *Mothers* of their Country, would never countenance them in their Oppression ; they had something else to do, than to mind the Harangues of fiery and furious Ecclesiasticks. They had the Interest of a brave Nation, and the Liberty of *Europe* at Heart, their own Glory, and the general Good of their Subjects. These *Men* take Advantage of Extremes, and never thrive but when the Prince has too much or too little Religion, when a *Bigot* or a *Sceptick* ; and, in a word, will never be easy, if any one but themselves are at Ease.

I think, there's nothing more in People's Mouths, than the Wisdom of the First King *James* ; 'twas almost a proverbial Expression a long Time ; and the Historian, who does not let one vulgar Opinion escape him, is full of it, tho' he has found so few Instances of it to transmit to Posterity. Indeed, that of the Proclamation not to build a House more within two Miles of *London*, is a very extraordinary one, as is the Reason the King gave for it, lest more People might bring the *Plague to Whitehall*. Admirable History ! but the Times will not afford better.

When Mr. *Echard* has a Mind to compliment any Man in High Office, he never does it by Halves.

The

The Chancellor Egerton dy'd in a good Old Age, full of Honour and Fame; witness what Osborn says of him, upon his making a Speech in favour of King James's Scots Favourites: *He render'd him seven Times more the Object of Reproach than he was before; the Lawyers arraigned him of Ignorance and Mistakes, and the Commons look'd upon him as the Owner, not only of a brazen Impudence, in daring to oppose his single Opinion to a whole Parliament, but were ready to hiss him, &c.* which the Archdeacon calls *Fame and Honour*.

The Politicks of this Reign appear in King James's permitting the Lord Vaux a Papist, to transport 4000 *English* to reinforce the King of Spain's Armies against his Majesty's Confederates in *Holland*, where his banish'd Children were refug'd, and against their Country it self the *Palatinate*. The Historian seems to be wonderfully delighted with the *Story* of the *Spanish Match*; every Step of which Negotiation was ridiculous to Observers, and dangerous to our Religion and Constitution: I cannot read it, and much less write of it; but 'tis in a very proper Place, the Archdeacon's Book, to which I refer; as also, for the shocking Account of the *Dutch Cruelties* at *Amboyna*, another vulgar Topick, in Excuse of which not a Word is to be said. However, unless King James, or his Son, could have procur'd Satisfaction for that *Barbarity*, the Author needed not have dwelt so long on such a grating Subject, if it had not been for the *common Cry*; and to rail at the *Dutch*, who have had *Amboyna* thrown in their Teeth ever since, when there has been any Design on Foot to destroy them, as *Schismatics* and *Commonwealths Men*. John Dryden wrote a Farce upon it, about the Time of the *Dutch Wars* in Charles II's Reign, which seems to be the Original from whence the Historian took his Copy: He should have told us,

that *Cromwell* compell'd the *Hollanders* to make what Satisfaction they could for their wicked Doings in that Island; which neither King *James I.* nor King *Charles I.* could ever procure. Indeed, the Ministry in those Reigns were too much busied in the *High Commission* and *Star-Chamber* Courts, in prosecuting and ruining the *Puritans* at home, to think of Affairs abroad, or to have any Credit or Influence there.

'Twas no News to us to be inform'd, that King *James* wrote a Letter to the Pope, a little before his Death, wherein he acknowledges him to be *Vicar-General of Jesus Christ, and Universal Father of all Christians*. Twenty five Years before that, even when he was King of *Scotland* only, he wrote a Letter to the then Pope, subscribing *your Holiness's most dutiful Son*. If ever any one of the Holy Martyrs, in Queen *Mary's* Reign, would have said as much, it would have sav'd him from the Fire. I do not repeat this as a Matter of Wonderment. If I had met with a Packet of those Letters, I should not have been surpris'd at it; but I mention it to shew how *religiously* this Prince must be careful of a *Protestant Church*, which the Archdeacon so much insists upon. That *Protestant Church* believes and asserts the Church of *Rome* to be the *Whore of Babylon*: Nothing in the World can be more inconsistent than to imagine, that the Pope's *most dutiful Son* could be the *Nursing Father* of the Church of *England*. Thus we see on what Foundation *these Men* build their Opinions, on Inconsistency, Contradiction, and other such Groundwork; all which did well enough, as long as the *High Commission* Court, and *Star-Chamber* Court, the Loss of which the Historian heartily laments, had Whips, Razors, Pillories, Jayls, &c. on their Side to back their Arguments.

When

When he comes to the Rise of Dr. *Laud*, he assures us, Mr. *Coke's* Account of it is so *scandalous* and *improbable*, that it deserves no Place in History. All that can be said to it is, Mr. *Coke* liv'd at the same Time with *Laud*, and must know those Things better than Mr. *Eckard*; besides, as he was a Gentleman, one must think he would scorn a Falsity, when there was nothing to be got by it; as we have seen there has been by vindicating the Principles and Practices of that Prelate. The Archdeacon, and every one of his Panegyrist, represent him as a *Saint* and *Martyr* with Flames about his Head, instead of Glories: They confess his Rage against *Puritans* was insatiable, and his Zeal for Ceremonies so intemperate, that, as Sir *James Whitlocke* said of him, it threaten'd a Conflagration: They have no other Marks of his *Exemplary Piety*; yet they run riot in his Praises, as if it had not been to his Counsels and Ministry, that all the Blood and Destruction of the Civil Wars were owing.

Before he came to Court, while he was yet at *Oxon* a Member of *St. John's College*, *Rusworth* tells us, he was suspected of favouring *Popery*; in so much that it was with Difficulty that he got to be chosen Head of his House; but having insinuated himself into the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, by his Mother's Assistance, he was made Bishop of *St. Davids*, much against the Will of King *James*; who, being teas'd by the Duke till it was done, said, as Mr. *Eckard* owns, *Take him to you, but on my Soul you'll repent it*, and then left him in a Passion. How he kept himself in the Duke's good Graces, we may learn by what that most Reverend Father of our Church, Dr. *Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, writes in his Narrative: *Laud is the only inward Counsellor with Buckingham, sitting with him sometimes privately*

whole Hours, and feeding his Humour with Malice and Spite. Here is Mr. Echard's Piety, dove-like Meekness and Innocence, which contrary to Archbishop Abbot, contrary to Sir James Whitlocke, contrary to all his Sayings and Doings, he makes to be the Characteristick of this Prelate.

While *Laud* was yet at *Oxford*, *Dr. Robert Abbot*, the Archbishop's Brother, afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*, gives us a lively Image of the Man's Disposition, in a Sermon of his: *Men, under Pretence of Truth and Preaching against Puritans, strike at the Heart and Root of Faith and Religion establish'd amongst us. This Preaching against Puritans, was but the Practice of Parsons and Campian, when they came to England to seduce young Students. When many of these were afraid to lose their Places, if they should professedly be Papists, the Counsel they then gave them was, that they should speak freely against the Puritans, and that should suffice; and they cannot suppose they are accounted Papists, because they speak against the Puritans. If some of them do at any Time speak against the Papists, they do beat a little upon the Bush, and that softly too, for fear of troubling or disquieting of the Birds that are in it. Directly contrary to this is Mr. Echard, who affirms that the Papists were so far from having the Puritans rail'd at, that they were indefatigable Promoters of Puritanism. This, cries he, is certain and incontestable, tho' he has no better Authority for it than Nelson; who tells him, the first Independent Parson in London, was a Dominican Fryar: The Falshood of which is so apparent, that 'twould be Impertinence to go about to prove it; by these means, continues he, Presbyterianism increas'd, as also Familists, &c. Pray mind his Modesty on this Occasion, and how he couples his Sects, as he terms them, and confounds the Churches of Geneva, Holland, and Scotland, and nine Parts in*
ten

ten of the Foreign Protestants, with the most absurd *Sects* in England. I have often wish'd *these Men* had had a little Wit, to have laugh'd *Schismatics* out of their Singularity, that they might have made us merry, if they could not make us wise; but the Mischief of it is, they are as dull as they are bold, and as foolish as they are insolent.

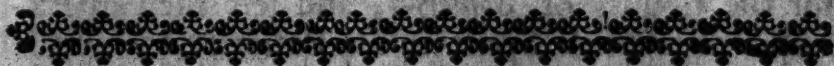
Laud was himself at the Preaching the above-mentioned Sermon, and wrote thus of it to his Patron Bishop *Neile*, whose greatest Merit was his having lain under an Impeachment in Parliament: *I came time enough to be at the Rehearsal of this Sermon upon much Perswasion, where I was fain to sit patiently, and bear my self abused almost an Hour together, being pointed at as I sat. Oh, the Meekness and Innocence! For this present Abuse I would have taken no Notice of it, but that the whole University apply it to me; and my own Friends tell me I shall sink my Credit, if I answer not Dr. Abbot in his own.* There's the *Dove* again. Mr. *Echard* gives us his Word, that this Dr. *Laud* was a Man of *elevated Parts*, which appears in an Expression of his about Men and Womens entering a Church, without making a *Bow* and a *Courtesy*. *Men enter the Church as a Tinker and his Bitch do an Alehouse*, which he said in a Speech in the Star-Chamber. This Meanness is imputed by *Osborn* to his keeping base Company, till after he left *Oxford*.

'Tis not improper here to take Notice of that Author's Opinion of *Ceremony*, wherein we shall find a Layman treating of it more reasonably than ever the Prelate we are speaking of did. "Cere-
"mony is too weak to bear that Stress the Priests
"lay upon it, who should rather build upon Faith;
"to which nothing is impossible, considering
"withal, that though external Behaviour may

“ add Warmth to Zeal, yet a Redundancy of it
 “ doth not seldom suffocate and extinguish, by
 “ converting it into Idolatry, which is a palpable
 “ Mistake in the Worship of God, and cannot
 “ among knowing People be held from clamour-
 “ ing for Reformation.” Is there a Truth like this,
 or a Word of this Truth in all the Archdeacon’s
 Books? Here again, we have another Cause of
 those Discontents, which had such fatal Effects in
 the following Reign; and *Laud* is the Person
 charg’d with it. What hopeful Ministers of State
 there were at this Time, may be seen by that
 huffing Proclamation upon the Dissolution of the
 Parliament, *A. D. 1621. That the Members had*
spoken disrespectfully of Foreign Princes; that they
had spent their Time in disputing Privileges, and
descanting upon Words and Syllables; that ill-temper’d
Spirits had sow’d Tares among the Corn, &c. The
 whole so rash in Thought and harsh in Expression,
 that Bishop *Williams* advis’d to have it soften’d
 before it was publish’d; but Bishop *Laud* was ne-
 ver for making Abatements, and so it pass’d, to the
 general Discontent of the whole Nation, which
 was hardly ever after in a good Humour with the
 Government, or the Government with them. Mr.
Echard confesses, that the Great *Selden*, Sir *Ed-*
ward Coke, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Robert Philips*, &c. were
 imprison’d for their Freedom of Speech in Parlia-
 ment. The latter, Sir *Robert Philips*, at the next
 Sessions said as follows: *This Day’s Debate makes*
me call to mind the Custom of the Romans, who had
a Feast once a Year for their Slaves; at which Time
they had Liberty to speak. After grievous Sufferings
of many violent Oppressions, we have, as these Slaves
had, a Day of Liberty of Speech, but shall not, I trust,
be herein Slaves; for we are Freemen, not Bond-
men, but Subjects. The Romans after their Feast
were Slaves again, but it is our Hope to return Free-
 men.

men. This Gentleman was Knight of the Shire for the County of *Somerset*, and left such an Example of publick Spirit to his Posterity, which it will be for their Glory to imitate. In another Speech he said, *I more fear the Violation of publick Rights at home, than a foreign Enemy. The unaccustom'd Violences trench into all we have, our Religion is made vendible by Commissions: Alas! now a Toleration is granted, and Men for pecuniary annual Rents dispens'd withal, whereby Papists, without Fear of the Law, practise Idolatry, and scoff at Parliament and all.* Why is there nothing of all this in the Archdeacon's History? How comes it, that those whose Duty it is to take care of our Religion to teach it, and inculcate it, seem to have less Concern for it than Laymen, whose Duty only it is to learn to practise it?

Sir Robert Philips again: *It is well known, the People of this State are under no other Subjection than what they did voluntarily consent to, by the Original Contract between King and People; and as there are many Prerogatives and Privileges conferr'd on the King, so there are left to the Subject many necessary Liberties and Privileges, as appears by the common Laws and Acts of Parliament, notwithstanding what those two Sycophants Sibthorp and Manwaring have prated in the Pulpit.* How different are these Things from those in Mr. Echard's Books? This noble Patriot, a hundred Years ago, asserted the Rights of that *Original Contract*, which Filmer, Brady, the Oxford Decree, Hicks, Lesley, &c. deny with so much Assurance, and which so many of the Clergy have condemn'd as a Fiction, since the Revolution.



C H A P. III.

Observations on Mr. Echard's History of the Reign of King Charles I.

IN the first Parliament held by King Charles the First, several Grievances were complain'd of; to which, says Echard, p. 421. *The King gave a distinct Satisfactory Answer.* Whitlock, p. 2. tells us on the contrary, *The Commons were unsatisfy'd*, and then gives good Reasons for it, which I do not repeat, but refer the Reader to the two Originals.

The Historian opens this Reign with Declarations of the King's *inviolable Steadiness, and hearty Zeal for the Protestant Religion*; and the first Proof he gives us of it is his Marriage with a *French Papist*, and by the Articles of that Marriage granting more Liberties to the *Papists*, than they did ever hope for since the *Reformation*. This King also wrote to the Pope, with the Title of *Most Holy Father*, and was marry'd by a Dispensation from his Holiness, according to the Ceremonies of the *Romish Church*: He immediately pardon'd twenty *Popish Priests*, and permitted a Chapel to be built at *Somerset House*, with Conveniencies for the *Fryars*, who walk'd the Streets in their Habits, as we are told by General Ludlow in his Memoirs; and that General being a Person of as great Rank, Learning, Eloquence and Veracity, as the greatest of our Historian's Authors, I shall not forbear to make use of his Authority sometimes,

sometimes, on Account of his being a Commonwealth's Man. If my Lord Clarendon's *Grand Rebellion* is so impartial an History, why did he not relate this Passage, which he reported himself, during his last Banishment at *Roan* in *France*!

Monsieur *Morville*, who was of *Roan*, tells us, p. 149. that the Lord Clarendon was wont to say, King *Charles I.* when he came to the Crown, express'd himself very willing to restore the Revenues of the Ecclesiasticks, which King *Henry VIII.* had dispos'd of among the Nobility. Queen *Mary I.* and her Husband King *Philip*, durst not take that Step. The French Author adds; *this made the Disaffected believe, that his Inclination lean'd towards the Catholick Religion*; and is there any Thing strange in their Belief! Why are we to learn all this from abroad? Why are we not told as much in his Lordship's Impartial History? Is this the *inviolable Steadiness* and *heartly Zeal for the Protestant Religion*, which Mr. *Echard* boasts of? The Archdeacon speaks of *Montague's Book*, Entitled, an *Appeal to Cæsar*, but not a Word of another of his, upon the Invocation of Saints; neither wou'd he let us know, if he cou'd help it, what *Montague* had said in his Appeal, for which the Parliament had voted, That he *endeavour'd to reconcile England to Rome*. He maintain'd,

1. *That the Church of Rome is, and ever was, a True Church.*

2. *That Images might be us'd to excite Devotion.*

3. *That Saints have Patronage, Custody, Protection and Power over certain Persons and Countries, as the Angels have.*

The Parliament declare farther, That he *impiously and prophanely scoff'd at Preaching, Lectures, Bibles, and all Shew of Religion*. Dr. Land assert-
ed,

ed *Montague's Cause to be the Cause of the Church*. Mr. *Echard* intimates as much, and that the Parliament had no Right to call him to account for it. *The King was the proper Judge of it*, p. 421. However, continues he, *they were so bold as to vote against it*. These Men are not ashamed of owning their *Attachment to Popery*. And good Reason why: They always made a Market of it, till King *William the Third's* Reign.

Amidst the Misunderstandings between the King and Parliament about *Buckingham*, the University of *Cambridge* chose the Duke their *Chancellor*, to shew their *Respect to the King*, and their *Dislike to the Commons*. *Whitlocke* says much the same, to please the King, and shew their *Dislike to the Commons*. But then he adds, *The Earl of Berkshire*, whose Name only was in Competition, having too much *Courtskip*, and too little Spirit to contest. Whereas the *Archdeacon* affirms, *He lost it but by five Voices*. A small Misrepresentation this, and I take notice of it, to shew, that it is no new thing for certain Societies to act retrograde in the Choice of their Chiefs. No sooner was another Duke, in our Time, displac'd by an Attainder of Treason, than his Brother was elected in his room.

In this same Affair the Historian enters deeply into *secret History*; so justly condemn'd by him, considering he knew nothing of the matter. He tells us of an ingenious private Letter wrote by an eminent Hand, which will be seen by the Sense of it, against the King's suffering any of his Favourites to be question'd in Parliament; never done but in the Nonage of tumultuous Times. Which is equally false and silly, unless by tumultuous Times, he means the very Session of Parliament. To oppose any of the Measures of these Men in Church Matters, or State Matters, is Tumult; but to oppress, pillage, imprison and banish, are all for Unity and Peace.

Peace. *It therefore behov'd your Majesty, says the Letter-Writer, to support the Duke; for if he be but decourted, it will be the Corner-Stone on which the demolishing of this Monarchy will be builded. If they prevail in this, they have form'd a thousand other Demands to pull the Feathers of the Royalty. They will appoint Counsellors, Servants, Alliances, Limits of the Expences, Accounts of the Revenue, &c. The Truth of these notable Predictions, says the Archdeacon, appear'd by the Event. Wherein he declares himself boldly against the Parliament's meddling with publick Accounts, Treaties, Alliances, and every important Branch of the Constitution. His Eminent Hand and he might have known, if they would, that the Parliament of England have in all Times call'd Counsellors and Servants to account.*

Speaking of the Parliament's Remonstrance against the Duke, and the taking Tunnage and Poundage, he sinks what *Whitlocke* adds, *tho' not granted to him by Parliament.* In this Remonstrance, *Whitlocke* informs us, p. 10. *Bishop Neile and Laud* were complain'd of; of which he will not yet say a word: For *Laud*, as it appears in the Memorials, would have drawn a Confession from *Felton*, that the Puritans set him on to murder the Duke of Buckingham; saying, *If he would not confess, he must go to the Rack.* Such Zeal as this, is the only thing that could endear him to his Party; and they conceal his Infirmities, such as Rage, Revenge, Rashness, Superstition, &c. as much as possible. Neither will the Archdeacon own 'twas *Laud* who threaten'd the Assassin with Torture, but only in general, that he was threaten'd in Council. If this is not *Misrepresentation* and *Prevai- cation*, I know not what those Words mean. His Account of King Charles the First's lending eight Ships to the French King to destroy the Protestant

Religion in *France*, is every whit of the same kind; Prevarications and Misrepresentations. *Ludlow* informs us, that the *Eight Ships* were equip'd with the *Subsidies* given for Relief of his Majesty's Excellent Sister the *Electress Palatine*, and the poor oppress'd Protestants of the *Palatinate*, of which you have not the least Hint in *Richard*; who excuses this hated Expedition, for that the *French King* was his Majesty's Brother-in-law. What Depth of Policy have we to fathom throughout his admirable History? He does not tell us that the *English Commanders* and *Seamen* were tempted with Chains of Gold to enter into Service against the Protestants of *Rochelle*, which the honest Sailors abhorr'd. *All this while*, says he, *the whole Body of the Council* knew of no other Design than that of *Genoa*; and in the next Words, Yet they receiv'd Intimations to the contrary from the *Duke of Rohan*, Head of the *Huganots* in *France*. *Ludlow* informs us, the *Duke of Rohan*, and the *French Protestants*, solicited the *King* not to let the *Ships* go, and bad good Words and Hopes from him. However, a Letter was written, dated 28 July, 1623. strictly requiring *Captain Pennington* without Delay to consign the *Vanguard* into the Hands of the *Marquis D'Effiat* for the *French King's Service*, and to require the *Seven other Ships*, in his Name, to put themselves into the Service of the *French* according to Promise; also commanding *Pennington*, in case of Backwardness and Refusal, to use all forcible Means to compel them, even to sinking; to destroy the *English*, if they would not destroy the *French Protestants*. Accordingly, says *Ludlow*, *Pannington* shot and forc'd the *English Ships* that refus'd the Service to join the *French Fleet*. But *Sir Ferdinand Gorges* brought off his Ship the *Neptune* to his eternal Honour. *Richard* assures us they were not forc'd in, but came in of themselves upon a Shot from Pen-

Pennington. This Expedition needs no Remark. I am satisfy'd every good *Englishman* reads it with Indignation. But the Archdeacon's Reflection on the Mischiefs of it, is like the rest of his. The greatest Mischief this helping the *French* produced, was the War with *France* a little while after.

The next Year, under Pretence of an Invasion from *France*, Letters were issu'd to levy Money by a Loan; and who should be pitch'd upon to write the Injunctions for levying it, but Bishop Laud. Indeed, says *Echard*, there were *plausible Reasons* for raising the Money without Consent of Parliament; which being impossible, will admit of no Argument. Nothing can be plausible that's illegal and tyrannical; and what else was the throwing a vast Number of Persons of Quality in Jail for not paying this illegal Tax? *Few*, quoth this wonderful Politician, *can discern the just Provocations of a Prince*; equally false and foolish. For no Provocation, no Necessities, can warrant the robbing me, and plundering me, as is done when Money is taken by Force. Why does he name but ten or eleven Gentlemen, who were imprison'd for not submitting to this unlawful Loan; as Sir *Thomas Wentworth* and Mr. *George Radcliffe*, who made sufficient amends afterwards for this one Instance of their Love to their Country. Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *John Heveningham*, Sir *Nathaniel Barnardiston*, Sir *Thomas Grantbam*, Mr. *Richard Knightley*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Mr. *John Hampden*, who according to him were all the *Principal Men*. But there were many more *Principal Men*; as Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Erasmus Dryden*, Sir *Francis Barrington*, Sir *Beauchamp St. John*, Sir *William Masham*, Sir *John Corbet*, Sir *William Armin*, Sir *Thomas Darnel*, Sir *William Wilmer*, Sir *Oliver Luke*, Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *John Wray*, Sir *John Hotbam*,
Sir

Sir William Chancery, Sir John Puckering, Sir Edward Ayscough, Sir Robert Poyntz, John Tragonnell, Esq; Henry Powle, Esq; William Carlton, Esq; William Anderson, Esq; John Dutton, Esq; Terringham Norwood, Esq; and many more Principal Men whom he does not name, because he wou'd as much as possible diminish the Grievance. For the same Reason he does not tell us, that Sir Peter Hayman, a Member of Parliament, was press'd for a Soldier, but was commanded by the Council to go upon his Majesty's Service in the Palatinate for not paying the Loan, as were many Citizens of London of the Common Sort, says he: The Rabble we know, being proper Persons to borrow Money of. Ludlow tells us, above twenty eminent Citizens were imprison'd, and others of a meaner Rank lifted for Soldiers.

Many more great Traders were imprison'd for not paying Tonnage and Poundage, contrary to the Opinions of the best Lawyers; this he terms, *Contempt of the Order of Council, which occasion'd many Pleadings*: Whitlock tells us, the Judges refus'd to hear a Pleading, and imprison'd Mr. Vassal, a considerable Merchant, Member of Parliament for the City of London.

The Committee of Religion having renew'd Complaints against Bishop Neile for countenancing Popery, and Whitlock informing us, the Booksellers Petitions set forth, *that Books against Popery were suppress'd, and Books in Favour of it frequently licensed*; Mr. Echard, that Hater of all Secret History, affirms, this Petition was procur'd by the *Artifice of the Committee*, a Company of subtle wicked Puritans.

I don't expect by what I have said, and shall say of Dr. Laud, to put a Stop to the Encomiums, which are so frequently made upon him in the Pulpit; I shou'd think, making a Judgment by the
Discre-

Discretion and Moderation of the Party, 'twou'd rather spirit them to continue and multiply their Panegyricks out of Spite, which seems to be the Rule of their Ministry. And since it will serve only to render themselves and their *Idol* the more ridiculous, let them multiply and continue their Eulogies; I believe they will be weary of it at last; when they find they are only laugh'd at. This Prelate was soon put at the Head of Affairs, furious and fiery as he was, as if the Politicians of those Times were like our modern *Fire-Men*, who know of no better Way of putting out a Fire, than by blowing up of the House. The Historian confesses, there was a Commission granted to raise Money in the *Nature of an Excise*, but does not name Bishop *Neile* and Bishop *Laud*, who were two of those Commissioners, who officiously took upon them that Guilt and Scandal of this illegal Imposition, tho' their Holy Calling would have been an Excuse for them. As he has concealed the Part these two busy Prelates had in levying Excise Money contrary to Law; so he misrepresents the Design of raising *German Horse* when brought over for the forming a *Standing Army*. He tells us, 'twas a necessary Preparation for the King's *foreign Engagements*. Where in the Name of Truth and History! For whom, against whom! He has nothing to say for himself. There was no foreign War, unless the shameful, and idle Expedition to the Isle of *Rhe* deserv'd that Name. Pray mind that; he assures us, these *German Horse* were for *foreign Service*, and not to be brought to *England*; now let us see the *Privy-Seal*, of which he himself gives us a Hint, to the Lord Treasurer, dated the 30th Day of *January 1627*. *We command you forthwith to pay to Philip Burlemarke, Merchant, thirty thousand Pounds, to be paid by him, over by Bill of Exchange into the Low Countries of Germany, unto*
Sir

Sir William Chancey, Sir John Puckering, Sir Edward Ayscough, Sir Robert Poyntz, John Tregonnell, Esq; Henry Powle, Esq; William Cortton, Esq; William Anderson, Esq; John Dutton, Esq; Terringham Norwood, Esq; and many more Principal Men whom he does not name, because he wou'd as much as possible diminish the Grievance. For the same Reason he does not tell us, that Sir Peter Hayman, a Member of Parliament, was press'd for a Soldier, but was commanded by the Council to go upon his Majesty's Service in the Palatinate for not paying the Loan, as were many Citizens of London of the Common Sort, says he: The Rabble we know, being proper Persons to borrow Money of. Ludlow tells us, above twenty eminent Citizens were imprison'd, and others of a meaner Rank list'd for Soldiers.

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Sir William Balfoure and John Dalbier, Esq; for levying and providing certain Numbers of Horses, with Arms for Horse and Foot, to be brought over into this Kingdom for our Service, &c. The Historian did not think fit to inform us, that this *Burlemark* being examin'd in Parliament, confess'd that he had received the 30000 *l.* That One thousand Horses were levied, and those Horses and their Riders were to come over. King *Charles I.* soon grew out of Humour with Parliaments, as might reasonably be expected from such a Ministry and such Counsels: For near twelve Years, almost every Act of Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil, was a Grievance. This Period is the Cream of the Archdeacon's History, and suits exactly with his Genius and Inclination, his splendid Church predominated in the *High Commission Court* and *Star-Chamber Court*, where People were sure to find Bishop *Laud* on the Bench, especially when any *Whipping Work* was going forward.

I must confess in the bloody Business of the Reverend Dr. *Leighton*, Father of the late venerable Archbishop of *Glasgow*, I can hardly write after, either Archbishop *Laud* or Archdeacon *Echard*. What need was there of *Laud's* inserting the abominable Cruelties exercis'd upon that Divine in his private *Diary*, unless he was delighted with the Subject beyond Measure, and took Pleasure in meditating upon it in his Closet? Dr. *Leighton* had been once treated with *Lashings* and *Slittings*, worse than any Slave in *Morocco*; and again says Dr. *Laud*, the Lord forgive him! On that Day Sev'n-night, his Sores upon his Back, Ear, Nose and Face not cured; he was whipp'd again at the Pillory in Cheapside, and there had the Remainder of his Sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other Ear, slitting the other Side of his Nose, and branding the other Cheek. If the Delight he

he took in this shocking Story was not extatick, why did he not leave off his History at, *And there the Remainder of the Sentence was executed!* Why does he cut off the Ministers Ear, slit his Nose, and brand his Cheek again! This dreadful Sentence was of his own making too, and the Archdeacon vouches for him, that Dr. Leighton's Crime sufficiently required such terrible Punishment; which to repeat, makes a Layman tremble; and I questioned in my first Part, whether there was a Man among the *Laity*, since the Revolution, who cou'd have thought of so horrid a Sentence for a Word spoken by a Priest against the Domination of the Priesthood. *Ruskbworth* informs us, that many People pity'd the unfortunate Gentleman, well known both for Learning and other Abilities. A furious Spirit, says *Echard*, which 'twas necessary to suppress: Let us have a Lay Judgment upon this; *The Whip*, says Mr. Osborn, reforms not so much as he that endures it, but is taken as a Triumph by the Party, increasing their Animosity, if not their Number; so that in Effect, it proves a Punishment to none, but the honest and tender-hearted of the People, who cannot chuse but be scandaliz'd to see the Image of God defac'd, by slitting Noses and cutting off Ears. Here Mr. Osborn you are out entirely: Archbishop *Laud* and Archdeacon *Echard* are not at all scandaliz'd at it, whatever you and I may be. Now according to the latter, Bishop *Laud* was the greatest Patron of Religion; The greatest Promoter of *All Designs of Piety*. In the very same Page is this amazing Instance of his *Piety* and Religion. A Page or two before, we have the Declaration of King *Charles*, publish'd at the Dissolution of his *Third* Parliament, which was drawn up by *Laud*, and produc'd under his own Hand at his Tryal. In this he complains of the Mischiefs occasion'd by some Members of Parliament: *The*

exorbitant Encroachments of the House of Commons in their unprecedented enquiring into Grievances, not sparing the Honour of the King's Counsellors, of whom himself was one. He calls them *envenom'd Spirits, Empyricks, and lewd Artists*. He promises to suppress Schism, *i. e.* Puritanism; and, which is as much impossible as to reconcile Right and Wrong, gave a fair Account, says our Historian, of the seizing Tonnage and Poundage, without Consent of Parliament. Such are the Politicks, such the Temper of these Men: And by this Prince's future Conduct, we may see what a Counsellor Dr. Laud was to him, by his calling no Parliament in twelve Years after; which of Course introduced a Despotic Kind of Government; and one may very well call the History of this King, *the Reign of Proclamations*. Never were there so many publish'd, and never so few Statutes in so many Years.

PROCLAMATIONS.

Anno 1625—	31	Anno 1632—	11
1626—	23	1633—	11
1627—	22	1634—	16
1628—	17	1635—	16
1629—	18	1637—	21
1630—	21	1638—	20
1631—	14	1639—	9

In which are contain'd the most of the Law and History of those Times, the Ministry of *Laud* and *Wentworth*. The latter a Man of so much Humanity and Moderation, that he prosecuted Mr. *Belasis*, the Lord *Falconbridge's* Son, for not pulling off his Hat to him in his Court of *York*; against which Court and his Presidency, the Earl of *Clarendon* spoke warmly in the House of Commons, when

when he was a Member of it. Mr. *Bellasis* scorn'd to submit to him, tho' requir'd to do it, and was for his Contempt thrown into Prison.

The Archdeacon mentioning the Death of Mr. *Noy* the Lawyer, tells us, Dr. *Land* said, *he had lost a dear Friend, and the Church the greatest she had,* considering he was but *Attorney-General*. The Ministry seem now to judge and rule by contraries; and if there was any Man more than ordinarily obnoxious to the People, the King made him a Favourite, and the Archbishop put him under the Protection of the Church. *Wood* tells us, *the King was sorry for Noy's Death, and the Clergy much more, but the Generality of the People rejoyc'd at it.* When the Archbishop is grieving, the People are rejoicing. Sir *Robert Heath*, another such good Friend as *Noy*, was about the same Time unexpectedly remov'd, says Mr. *Echard*: But will not let us know why. *A. Wood* confesses it was for *Bribery*. He tells us, however of a Female Conjuror, Lady *Davis*, who prophesied the Death of the Earl of *Pembroke*, but no where mentions her Propheying of King *Charles I.* *that great Misfortune shou'd befall him,* for which *Rusworth* says, *she was sometime imprison'd,* there being no Propheying nor jesting in *Land's* Time, unless it was on his own Side. To prove it, I shall relate an extraordinary Piece of History in this Reign, entirely omitted by Mr. *Echard*, tho' as well worth telling, as any other of his History Pieces. *Archy*, the King's Fool, meeting Dr. *Land*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, soon after News had come from *Scotland* of a Tumult there, upon that Archbishop's Attempt to introduce the *Common-Prayer* there, cry'd, *Whea's feule now! Dotb not your Grace bear the News from Striveling?* The Archbishop was just then going into the Council Chamber, and highly resenting

representing the Affront, complain'd immediately to the Council of the Fool, and Presbyterian *Archy*. The Council taking the Matter into serious Consideration, resolv'd to do Justice upon his Majesty's Fool, in Favour of Archbishop *Laud*, and it occasion'd the ensuing Order.

Dr. Laud, Archbishop of *Cant.* Complainant.
Archy, the King's Fool, Defendant.

At *Whitehall*, March 11. 1637.

Present

The King's most Excellent Majesty.

Lord Archbishop of <i>Cant.</i>	Earl of <i>Dorset</i> .
Lord Keeper.	Earl of <i>Salisbury</i> .
Lord Treasurer.	Earl of <i>Holland</i> .
Lord Privy Seal.	Lord <i>Newburgh</i> .
Lord Duke of <i>Lenox</i> .	Mr. Treasurer.
Lord Marquiss of <i>Hamilton</i> .	Mr. Comptroller.
Earl Marshall.	Mr. Vice-chamberlain.
Lord Chamberlain.	Mr. Secretary <i>Cooke</i> .
Earl of <i>Northumberland</i> .	Mr. Secret. <i>Windebank</i> .

It is this Day order'd by his Majesty, with the Advice of the Board, that *Archibald Armstrong*, the King's Fool, for certain Words spoken against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and proved to be uttered by him, by two Witnesses, shall have his Coat pull'd over his Head, and be discharged of the King's Service, and banished the Court; for which the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household is prayed and required to give Order to be executed, and immediately the same was put in Execution. *Archy* was degraded of his Fools Coat, and banish'd into *Scotland*. Why might not this important

portant Event have been inserted in the Archdeacon's Chronicle, as well as *Prophecies, Dreams, Visions, &c.*

Having mention'd Dreams, I shall instance that of Sir *Thomas Wentworth's* Father, of which he writes seriously. *There were strange Prognosticks of the Greatness and Fate of this extraordinary Man, revealed before his Birth to his Father in a Dream.*

The greatest Dreamer of all was Archbishop *Laud* himself, if you'll believe his own *Diary*. In some of his *Dreams* one may perceive, what ran in his Head most when he was waking.

I dreamed, that *L. L. Bishop of Lincoln*, came and offer'd to sit above me at the Council Table, and the Lord *Holland* came and plac'd him there: I came to *Berwick* that Night, and DREAMED, that *K. B.* sent to me in *Westminster Church*, that he was now as desirous to see me as I him, and that he was then entering into the Church. I went with Hope, but met another in the middle of the Church, who seemed to know the Business, and laughed, but *K. B.* was not there.

I dreamed, that the Bishop of *Lincoln* came with Iron Chains, but return'd freed from them: that he leaped upon a Horse, departed, and I cou'd not overtake him.

I dreamed one Night, while I was a young Scholar at *Oxford*, that I came to far greater Preferment in the Church, and Power in the State, than any Man of my Birth, a *Sheerman's* Son of *Reading*, and Calling, before me: but after all this Happiness, before I waked, I dreamed, I was hanged.

The Dream about the Bishop of *Lincoln* and the Chains, was occasioned by an Information that that Bishop endeavour'd to be reconcil'd to the Duke of *Buckingham*, which it seems threw him into a terrible Pannick. *A. Wood* pretends the last Dream was spurious, and that 'twas foisted into

the Archbishop's *Diary* among the genuine *Dreams*, by Mr. *Prynne*; but the Interpretation seems so natural, that if he did not dream so, he might have done it, as Matters happen'd.

Whoever has a Desire to see how this Prelate busied himself in raising of Money, levying of Soldiers, equipping of Ships, providing Carriages, and transporting Arms and Ammunition, in imprisoning Lords, Gentlemen and Merchants, with other the like dirty Work, as remote from his holy Vocation as Earth is from Heaven; he need only read *Rushworth*, among whose Collections are heaps of Warrants, with this Archbishop's Name to them.

It is well known, that he was the most busy Man in the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission Courts*, whose Names will be infamous in all good History. *The Star-Chamber Court*, says our Historian, *had for many Ages been the Glory of the English Nation, and it generally consisted of thirty or forty of the greatest, wisest, and most learned of all Professions: Well said, Master Archdeacon; no Court came so near the venerable Senate of Rome, in State, Honour, and Judicature.* Directly contrary to this, speaks Mr. *Osborn*, a Gentleman, whose Birth and Fortune gave him an Opportunity to acquaint himself with Affairs of State, and who doubtless had been frequently a Witness of the *Judicature, Honour and State* of that Court. *The Earl of Northumberland*, says he, *was cast into the Sea of the Star-Chamber.* This was thirty Years before the Time Mr. *Echard* writes of, when it was probably less oppressive, than during *Laud's Ministry: That Den of Arbitrary Justice, where the Keeper for the Time being, two Bishops, two Judges, and as many wise Lords and honest great Officers, sat, as were pleased to come; the most of whom, tho' unable to render a Reason, Mr. Echard's greatest, wisest,*
and

and most learned of Men, every Wednesday and Friday in Term time concur, &c. to tear such as refuse to worship the Minion, or to yield to the pretended Royal Prerogative; nor did they escape, who were any way satyrical, as Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, a Thing not to be avoided by Lovers of Truth. The Employment of this Court was like Schoolboys, (here's the Historian's Roman Senate,) to hold up one another, while their Master whipp'd them.

The next Thing I shall take notice of, is as directly contrary to the Truth as this; and so notorious, that both he and his ador'd *Laud* will never get clear of it. He informs us, that the Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* made an express Order against *Revels* on the Lord's Day, at the *Somersetshire* Assizes; which Archbishop *Laud* understanding, he went to the King, and complain'd of that Judge's going about to hinder the Profanation of the *Sabbath*. He also wrote to Dr. *Pierse*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, to know whether *Revels* might not be kept on *Sundays*, without Drinking, Gaming, Dancing, Riot and Wantonness; which I speak of my own Knowledge was never done, that I could hear of in forty Years Time, and probably never was nor ever will be; these *Revels* being always the Rendezvous of the most loose and disorderly sort of People. The Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, says *Echard*, and seventy of the Ablest of his Clergy, wrote back, that the *Somersetshire Revels* were *laudable* and *innocent*; than which nothing can be more untrue, unless Gluttony, Drunkenness, Lewdness and Riot, breaking of Heads and Commandments, be innocent and laudable. The Bishop, and his seventy able Clergymen, said also, that the Restitution of these *Revels* upon *Sundays*, would be grateful to the Clergy, which may be true, and to the Gentry, which is positively false; for upon News, that Bishop *Laud* wou'd have them

restor'd, the Gentry of the County, to use *Rusworth's* Words, were highly offended, and petition'd to have the Lord Chief Justice's Order continued. The Petition was sign'd, by

<i>John Lord Pawlet.</i>	<i>Edward Pawlet, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir William Portman.</i>	<i>William Bassett, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir John Stawel.</i>	<i>George Speke, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Ralph Hopton.</i>	<i>John Windham, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Francis Popham.</i>	<i>Thomas Lutterel, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Edward Rodney.</i>	<i>William Walrond, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Francis Doddington.</i>	
<i>Sir John Horner.</i>	

The very best Gentlemen of the County, almost all of them Fighters and Sufferers for King *Charles I.* However, Judge *Richardson* was reprov'd at the Council Table so severely by *Laud*, that when he came thence he complain'd, *He had been almost choak'd with a Pair of Lawn Sleeves*: His Order was revok'd; and the Archdeacon very religiously affirms, that *Drinking, Dancing, Playing at Fives, and at Cudgels, Ringing of Bells, and Ballad Singing, the customary Sports and Diversions at Revels*, had been long the Practice upon *Sundays* after Divine Service. These Things happen to be, not only within my own Knowledge, but the Knowledge of every Soul, Man, Woman and Child, what ever heard of a *Somersetshire Revel*. And after this, what will the Reader think of Archbishop *Laud*, of Bishop *Pierse*, his seventy able Clergymen, and what of their Historian?

I take the Liberty to break in upon *Chronological* Order, to bring my Matters together, and make the View the stronger. About the same time, Archbishop *Laud*, as Mr. *Echard* writes from his own *Diary*, was offer'd a *Cardinal's Cap*, but he refus'd it. In a Fortnight's Time, a second

Offer of a *Red Hat* was made him ; and he refusing it again, *the Tempter*, says the Archdeacon, *left him for ever* ; neither of which is true, he did not refuse it, nor the Tempter did not leave him. My Authority for what I say, is the noble Monsieur *Wiquesfort*, Privy-Counsellor to the Duke of *Brunswick* ; who, in his Treatise entitul'd the *Ambassador and his Functions*, writes thus, p. 12. *Cardinal Francis Barbarini, who was first Minister under the Pontificate of Urban the VIII. his Uncle, employed several Persons near the Queen of England, Henrietta of France, who, under the Quality of Agent, did all that a Minister from the Pope could have done for the Promotion of the Roman Catholick Religion. He sent thither, in the Tear 1639, Count Charles Rosetti, who was afterwards Nuncio at Cologne, and made a Cardinal: He was not contented to use his utmost Endeavours to obtain Liberty of Conscience for the Roman-Catholicks, but attempted also to change the Predominant Religion in the Person of the King. The Archbishop of Canterbury was much inclin'd to it, and resolved to follow Rosetti to Rome, if Cardinal Barbarini would have ensur'd him a Pension of Eight and Forty Thousand Livres. The People of London coming to understand Rosetti's Intrigues, attack'd him in his House, from whence he sav'd himself at the Queen Mother's Mary de Medicis, who was then in England: The Paliament caus'd him to be sought for there, and oblig'd him to leave the Kingdom, and retire to Flanders. When the Citizens of London have shewn their Indignation, on Occasion of such clandestine Practices at the Expence of Foreign Agents, they are represented as mutinous, rebellious, or worse, by such Historians as the Archdeacon ; and the Parliament themselves fare no better, when any the like Opportunity offers to abuse them as insolent, and even brutal in their Behaviour to Strangers.*

Strangers. In this Case, Monsieur de Wiquesfort excuses the Citizens of London, who attack'd Rosetti in his House; and let this Instance serve to justify the same Violence against Popish Ministers, who come hither without Warrant to carry on illegal Designs. Rosetti was no publick Minister, since he had no Character or Letters of Credence from the Pope, so that he was at most but the Agent of a Cardinal; for which Reason he could not enjoy the Protection of the Law of Nations, but to the Extent of the Queen's Power. But neither the Parliament, nor the Londoners, violated the said Law in the Person of a Man, who having no Character, nor being acknowledg'd for a publick Minister, disturb'd the Tranquillity of the State, by endeavouring to introduce a new Religion, contrary to the Laws of the Land. Archbishop Laud, Archdeacon Echard, and others, call Presbytery the new Religion; the new fangled Device of Calvin; and Popery, the old Religion; but reform'd Christians think quite otherwise, and wou'd be in the right, if it was not impossible for our Ecclesiasticks to be in the wrong. This Monsieur Wiquesfort was, I own, of the reform'd Religion, and no Enemy to the Dutch; but that ought not to discredit him, with the Archdeacon and his Friends. Saumaise, who wrote a Vindication of King Charles the I. against Milton, was a Presbyterian, and by the same Token he broke his Heart in the Controversy. Monsieur Wiquesfort paid no great Complement to the Parliament, when, in one of his Letters to Barlaeus, he speaks of the Queen of England's bringing her Daughter to Holland, to be marry'd to the Prince of Orange. This Voyage, says he, is the more uncertain, for that it depends on three of the most inconstant Things in the World, A Woman, the Wind, and the Parliament: *Præcipue quod totum hoc negotium pendeat a tribus inconstantiae Symbolis, Fœmina, Vento, Parlamento.*

liamento. Notwithstanding the Pope knew Bishop *Laud* so well, as to offer him twice a *Cardinal's* Cap, yet his Adorers want words to express his Zeal for the Honour of God and his Church. Why did not the Pope offer those two Protestant Bishops, the most pious and learned Dr. *Abbot* and Dr. *Tillotson*, Archbishops of *Canterbury*, a *Red Hat*? Why did he not make the same Compliment to the most venerable Archbishop *Tennison*, or Archbishop *Wake*, the Pillars and Ornaments of our Protestant Church? Need any Body be told it? Folks do not use to send Presents, where they know they will not be welcome. *I cannot accept it*, cries he, *till Rome is otherwise than it is*: Yet eight Years after, he could treat with *Rosetti* for 48000 Livres a Year, tho' Rome was every whit as bad as it was before. In Opposition to the Memoirs of the Noble *Wiquefort*, we are minded of the Archbishop's Book against *Fisber*. What Monsieur *Wiquefort* says of his Inclination to *Popery*, comes many Years after that Book was publish'd: Besides, it is the Opinion of some Authors, to which I subscribe, that if *Laud* cou'd have erected a sort of *Papacy* at *Lambeth*, he was too proud to have stoop'd to that at *Rome*. He would have contented himself with a spiritual Tyranny in *England*, and to have been *Papa alterius Orbis*: The Archdeacon seems to intimate as much, and to be extreamly well pleased with it. *The Archbishop was entirely set upon the Advancement and Grandeur of the Church, which he brought to that Height, that it shew'd rather a Rivalship, than a Resemblance of the Church of Rome.* Here's a rare Reform'd Divine for you! *Rival Superstition and Idolatry.* Either these Men do not know the Religion they profess, or they do not care what becomes of it. Most of the zealous Jesuits, in their Writings against Mr. *Chillingworth*, made their Brags, *That Archbishop Laud was weary*
of

of the Reformation, and making the best of his Way to the Church of Rome. Either the *Papists* did not know him, or they bely'd him; but sure it is, they knew him perfectly well, and his Actions shew too plainly they did not belye him. I could very willingly add here, if I had room, what the *Papists* said further of our Church's running so far back towards that of Rome, in owning the Pope not to be Antichrist, in *Pictures, good Works, 39 Articles, Church Authority, Priests, Altars, Copes, Canons, &c.* in all which, the incomparable *Heylin* declares she was in the Right. This is the same good Protestant *Heylin*, whom the Archdeacon makes use of, and on whose Veracity and Judgment he sets so high a Value; as he does also upon *A Wood* the Oxonian, who, says *Monsieur des Maizeaux*, was fond of defamatory Reports, when they concern'd any Adversaries to Popery. An Observation I had frequently made before; so might the Archdeacon have done, had his Zeal for the true Protestant Religion, been as quick-sighted as that for the Riches and Honours of his Brethren the Clergy.

These Men can never say enough of Bishop *Laud's* converting Mr. *Chillingworth*; and I must needs own *Monsieur des Maizeaux* lays too great Stress upon it: But Mr. *Echard* will have it, that the Bishop converted him by his Arguments to the Protestant Religion, while *Chillingworth* was at *Doway*. *Laud* assum'd the Merit of this Conversion, in his Speech to the House of Lords; and the Earl of *Clarendon*, who however will not allow that *Chillingworth* had any thing more than Doubtings about Religion, affirms, that Archbishop *Laud* reclaim'd him from them, which I have very great Doubtings of; tho', it is certain, *Laud* did write some Letters to him, when he was in *Flanders*.

There's

There's nothing but Confusion in the Relation of this Matter, which is started purely to clear that Prelate from the Imputation of *Popery*. The Jesuit *Fisber*, who seduc'd *Chillingworth*, was the same with whom the Archbishop had a Conference, which was printed; and it highly concern'd him to recover the lost Sheep, or he would have been in danger of losing the Glory he got by his Triumph over *Fisber*; accordingly he, by Letter, perswaded him to return; and *Chillingworth* being soon weary of his new Religion and Company at *Doway*, easily hearkened to such Perswasion; the Place where he was, says Monsieur *des Maizeaux*, being not suitable to the State of a free impartial Enquirer; and it is plain, he was not converted when he came to *England*, but only reduc'd to a State of Doubting as to *Protestantism*, which brought him back again, as a State of Doubting as to *Popery* had carry'd him over to *Flanders*; and that his Conversion was not owing to the Archbishop's Letters, is apparent from what the same Author adds: He was received, at his Return, with great Kindness and Affection by Bishop *Laud*, who approved of his Design of retiring to *Oxford*, to compleat the important Work he was upon; a free Enquiry into Religion. So that the pretended Conversion was not compleated; and I do not find the Archbishop had afterwards any more Arguments with him, but left the Matter to his Studies and Enquiries. Further, it is very evident, that he could not have converted him to his own Church, to *Subscription*, *Athanasius's Creed*, &c. for he spoke against them with great Zeal several Years after, and indeed a Conversion from *Popery* to *Crosses*, *Bowings*, *Candles*, *High Commission Courts*, *Processions*, *Fasts*, *Chantings*, &c. was but doing the Work by Halves, and hardly worth the while of coming for it from *Doway* to *Lambeth*; and

and knowing the Religion that Prelate would have established in *England*, was a Composition of Tyranny and Superstition, I cannot have the Complacency, as to say with Monsieur des *Mairzeaux*, that Archbishop *Land* was a Man of a generous equitable Temper, and sensible of the Goodness of the Protestant Cause. I cannot, without a little Indignation, see the Courtship that is made to the Character of Persons, as deliver'd to us by Bigots and Flatterers; and if by Protestant Cause, that Author understands the Cause of Religion in *Holland*, the *Palatinate*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, *Scotland*, &c. how can he say he was sensible of the Goodness of it, or that he was an illustrious Prelate of a generous equitable Temper? Had he not unchurch'd all the Protestants in *Christendom*, that were not under the Protection of his High Commission Court? Did he not deprive the *French*, *Flemish*, and the *Dutch* Protestants of their Liberty? Did he not persecute the *English* Protestants, under Pretence of their being Schismatics? Did he not endeavour to rob the *Scots* Protestants of their Religion? If all these Things are true, and that Author knows they are so better than I know it, how could he praise him for being sensible of the Goodness of the Protestant Cause, and for his equitable and generous Temper? I do not at all envy the Artifice of those Men, that by cajoling such Churchmen as *Land*, think to acquire the Character of Impartial. I desire that Character from no Body but the Lovers of Truth; and will never compliment the Enemies to the spiritual and temporal Liberty, to be thought cautious and discreet. If my History of *Land* be true, he could not be sensible of the Goodness of the Protestant Cause, nor be of an equitable and generous Temper, on which Foot I leave it. I might have urged, as to the Archbishop's converting *Chillingworth*, that Fryar

Cressy affirms, He return'd out of Flanders, without any previous Correspondence with Archbishop Laud, or even without his Knowledge. Monsieur des Maiseaux shews us plainly enough, that we are not to expect Truth or Argument from Monks and Jesuits in religious Controversies; but I infer from the whole, that tho' a Portion of the Merit of *Chillingworth's* Return, may be given to Bishop Land for the Reasons above-mention'd, yet that of his Conversion is owing to his own Studies and Enquiries; he having a much clearer Head for such Work, than it can be pretended the Archbishop had. Further Proof of the Confusion of this Incident, I shall take from the same Author, p. 15. because it charges my Lord Clarendon with three Errors at once. *The Earl of Clarendon*, in his Animadversions upon *Cressy*, hath censur'd some of the Faults we have observed; but, at the same time, he is fallen himself into some Errors, as his asserting, that Mr. *Chillingworth* never declar'd himself a Catholick, except, being at St. Omers, amounts to such a Declaration; whereas, Monsieur des Maiseaux assures us, he was reconciled to the Church of Rome entirely and sincerely, p. 12. The Earl affirms, that Mr. *Chillingworth* went to St. Omers, whereas he went to Doway; and that he had but Doubtings in Religion; whereas it was most certain, that 'twas then his settled Opinion, that the Romish Church was to be preferr'd to the Religion of the Church of England, p. 12. I verily believe Mr. *Echard* does not think the Earl of Clarendon could be guilty of three such Mistakes in one short Paragraph, or would not have told us of it, had he known it; but it is much incumbent upon me to prove by all fair Means, that his Lordship is not infallible; which the Archdeacon, and most of his Brethren, represent him to be in his historical Capacity; and I have frequently animadverted upon them

them for so doing, and prov'd the contrary in many Instances.

I must digress a little farther to continue Mr. *Chillingworth's* History. Monsieur *des Maizeaux* thinks he has sufficient Authority, from a Passage of the Lord *Clarendon's*, to vindicate that Divine's acting as an Engineer in the Army before *Gloucester*, and in the Garrison at *Arundel*; because that Lord, says he, was obliged to quit the Lord *Hopton's* Army, on Account of Sicknefs, and repos'd himself in the Castle at *Arundel*. This is said to excuse *Chillingworth's* military Behaviour, so inconsistent with the Character of a Minister of the Gospel. The Turn which is given it is equally vain and groundless. Was he sick when he made the Engines at the Siege of *Gloucester*? Was he sick when the Lord *Hopton* took the Castle of *Arundel*? and why have they made him sick to excuse his being found there when Sir *William Waller* recover'd it? Such Disguises as these, I expect every where in the History of the *grand Rebellion*, and in Mr. *Echard's* History, but not in the Works of so wary and accurate a Writer as Monsieur *des Maizeaux*, who has twice repeated what is said of this Sicknefs. Mr. *Chillingworth* argued clearly and strongly, and had a nervous Stile; but, it is certain, if he embrac'd an Opinion, he did it with Zeal, and it was hardly possible for a Man of his resolute Temper to sit still, when the King and his Party were in Action. Besides, tho' he was right in his Notions as to *Popery* and *Protestantism*, he was wrong in those that concern'd Civil Government; and asserted Things as destructive to our Revolutionary Constitution, as were ever said by the Earl of *Clarendon*, Mr. *Echard*, nay by *Lesley* or *Hicks*, as p. 219. *Life of Chillingworth, the unjust and tyrannous Violence of Princes may not be resisted.* Again, p. 298. *Resistance is unlawful, tho'*

the Prince be most impious, tyrannical and idolatrous. How comes it then, that the abdicating King *James* was lawful? Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience are the general Rule, without Exception or Limitation, left by the Holy Ghost for our Direction. This is follow'd by the 13th Chapter of St. Paul to the Romans; and other Scriptural Texts made use of by *Sacheverel*, *Trap*, and other such Divines in their *Thirtieth of January* Sermons, &c. all which have been otherwise explain'd, by Mr. *Locke*, Bishop *Hoadly*, &c. and the Foundation of our present Constitution establish'd upon Scripture, Law, and Reason, as Monsieur *des Maizeaux* very well knows; and therefore should not have suffer'd this Poison, tho' in *Chillingworth's* Pen, to have past without an Antidote. I can admire Mr. *Chillingworth's* Sagacity, Learning, Judgment, Eloquence and Honesty, and not be blind to his Weaknesses: I can see very plainly, he has not answer'd his Objections to Subscription, as he has done his *Motives* for embracing *Popery*; and having accepted of two or three Church Benefices, it is no wonder to me to find him fighting for the Cause he had subscrib'd to; which is the naked State of the Case; but as it is dress'd up in his Life and other Writings, we cannot easily come at it.

Monsieur *des Maizeaux* has a Fling at Dr. *Cheyne* for being a *military Divine*, as he calls him; but *Cheyne* was an Army Chaplain, and consequently more excusable than Mr. *Chillingworth*. Whatever Indiscretion *Cheyne's* furious Zeal might make him guilty of, I don't find we have any Reason to think he wou'd tell a wilful Lye; and he positively affirms, Mr. *Chillingworth* was so far from being accidentally sick at *Arundel*, that he forc'd himself upon the Garrison, and the Officers disrelish'd him, as an *Intruder and a Spy over them*; p. 325. I cannot imagine, why Monsieur *des*
 VOL. II. H *Maizeaux*

Maizeaux should have have any Thing to do with Lord *Clarendon*, when he had before him an Account of this Matter, written by a Divine on the Spot ; whom the Bishop of *Bangor* styles *exactly* Orthodox, as pious, honest and charitable, as his Bigotry would permit.

Having enter'd so far into the History of Mr. *Chillingworth*, I cannot leave it without observing after what manner the Earl of *Clarendon* tells the Story of the Surrender of *Arundel* Castle, where he was taken Prisoner : It contains several pleasant Particularities, which will serve to give us an Idea of his Lordship's and the Archdeacon's Histories of Battels and Sieges, during the Civil War. I have often taken notice, that they represent the King's Forces as always invincible, and when they are beaten, bring them off like Lions ; nor will they ever allow they had the worst on't, without some unhappy Accident or other befall them. When the Lord *Hopton* comes before *Arundel*, he immediately makes himself Master of it ; but when he retreats on the Approach of Sir *William Waller*, the Latter has no Hopes of recovering it, but from the Want of Provisions for the King's Soldiers, the Inexperience of the Governor, High-Sheriff of the County, the Faction of one Colonel *Bamford* an *Irishman*, and a *Papist* I'll warrant him, tho' he call'd himself *Bampfild*, and the Distraction of the Garrison : In the midst of which, up comes Sir *William Waller* with all the Parliament's Western Army ; and notwithstanding the Want of Provisions, the High-Sheriff's Inexperience, the Faction rais'd by the *Irish* Colonel, and the Distraction of the Garrison, the Lord *Clarendon* assures us, if the Soldiers had not been kept waking by continual Alarms, and half of them had not been sick, they might have kept the Castle longer. Tho' these Speculations carry a great deal of Mirth with them, and the Partiality

tiality is visible and whimsical; yet Mr. *Echard* copies them servilely, and as I have seen a Bully serv'd upon the Stage, has his Men kick'd off with an Air.

But what shall we say of the Earl of *Clarendon's* Misrepresentation of the Treatment Mr. *Chillingworth* met with from the Parliament Officers and Clergy; who, he affirms, *kill'd him by their barbarous Usage*, p. 349? Whereas *A. Wood* himself acknowledges, *he was us'd very civilly*; and Mr. *Chillingworth's* Apothecary gave it under his Hand, that some of his last Words were as follow; *Because the World will be apt to surmise the worst of Things, and there may be some Enquiry made after my Usage in Chichester; I must testify and declare to all the World, that I have receiv'd from Lieutenant Colledge, to whose Care Sir William Waller had committed him, and his Wife, abundance of Love, Care and Tendernefs, where I deserved it not; and that I have wanted nothing which might be desired of them.* And his giving the Lieutenant 10 Pounds by his Will, and 10 Pounds to Mrs. *Mason*, who attended him in his Sicknefs, are sufficient Proofs that he was not murder'd by the Parliament Officers, as Lord *Clarendon* asserts, contrary to the Testimony of Mr. *Chillingworth's* Father, who wrote a Letter of Thanks to that Officer at *Chichester*, for his Civility to his Son. Yet see what a rare Account of it you have in Mr. *Echard*, p. 609. *As soon as his Person was known, which wou'd have drawn Reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended the Parliament's Army, prosecuted him with all imaginable Inhumanity, so that by their barbarous Usage, he dy'd within a few Days.* So false is this in Fact, that the very Reverse of it is the Truth; yet he adds a worse Falsity, if possible, than this, to his Relation, which is, that Dr. *Cheyne* threw Mr. *Chillingworth's* Book

into the Grave insultingly, *after* the Corpse; whereas he threw it into the Grave *before* the Corpse was bury'd. For having ended his Speech, at the Burial of the Book; he began another to the Assistants thus, *Touching the Burial of his Corpse, I need say no more than this: It will be proper for the Men of his Perswasion to commit the Body of their deceased Friend and Brother to the Dust, &c.* And he went immediately from the Grave to the Pulpit, *before* the Corpse was interr'd. Mr. Echard was not satisfi'd with transcribing, what the Lord Clarendon had said: He refines upon it, and multiplies the Misrepresentation, to render the Presbyterian Divine still more odious than his own Rashness had made him. Dr. Cheynel wrote a Narrative of this Transaction, which contradicts every Word the Lord Clarendon and Mr. Echard say of it; and that Credit is to be given to his Narration, we learn from Monsieur des Maizeaux. *We cannot reasonably suspect the Truth of the most material Passages in it; and that of burying his Book, and afterwards his Body, is as material as any.* This Gentleman does not stick at charging Cheynel with *Fanaticism* and *Religious Madness*; yet he thinks him too honest to falsify the Fact; which I take to be the fair State of the Case; and what follows is as fair, *To say, that the Inhumanity of Mr. Cheynel's Disputes was the Cause of his Death, is in my humble Opinion doing him an Injury.* 'Tis charging him with downright Murther, and making his Blood cry for Vengeance against a Man who was innocent. Nor does this Injury content Mr. Echard: He has another, p. 828. Dr. Cheynel employ'd *his considerable Learning and great Abilities to bad Purposes*; which is as false as the rest. Cheynel did not employ his Abilities and Learning to bad Purposes. The present Bishop of Salisbury says, as I have hinted elsewhere, that he was *Orthodox, Sincere,*

cere, Honest and Charitable, but rigid in Presbyterian Principles; and Rigor is no more a Sin in a Presbyterian, than it is in a Church-Man. If you will excuse his *Bigotry*; the Man had no bad Purpose; and if you will not excuse the Lord *Clarendon's* and Mr. *Echard's Bigotry*, to what Purposes have their Learning and Abilities been employed? Dr. *Cheyne's* Rigor had so much Heat in it, as sometimes to affect his Understanding, which appear'd in his burying Mr. *Chillingworth's* Book. I had not heard of that extravagant Action, when I wrote the first Volume, and did believe it cou'd not be true in all its Circumstances, as the Historian told it, and I have now proved that it was not so. Monsieur *des Maizeaux* excuses the Lord *Clarendon*, by supposing he had forgot Mr. *Chillingworth's* being sent to *Chichester*, and believ'd he dy'd in *Arundel Castle*. The same Excuse, *Forgetfulness*, will do for every Mistake in the History of the *Grand Rebellion*. But after this, who will presume to affirm, that the Earl's History is the most impartial and sincere that ever was? *Vide* Dr. *Felton*, Archdeacon *Echard*, and every staunch Writer from the Day of its Publication to that of the Date hereof.

This Volume was at the Press before Monsieur *des Maizeaux's* *Life of Chillingworth* was publish'd, and it containing so many just Remarks on the Lord *Clarendon's*, and Mr. *Echard's* Histories, I cou'd not deny my self the Advantage of having my Opinion of them confirm'd by his, as far at least as those Remarks did shew it; but being at a great Distance from the Press, the Insertion may not happen so *a propos*, as if I cou'd have made it my self.

Dr. *Laud* was the Occasion of my introducing Mr. *Chillingworth*, and I have said so much of the Archbishop, that I hardly hope for Pardon, &c.

Rusworth speaking of *Laud's* being offer'd a *Red Hat*, mentioned in his own Diary, writes thus: "I shall instance only in one Fact, which
 "wou'd have been of very doubtful Credit, had
 "it dropt from any other Pen but the Archbishop's
 "own, the Offer made him by a Messenger
 "from the Pope of a Cardinal's Cap: Few would
 "either have believ'd, that the *Papists* Designs of
 "subverting the Protestant Religion were advan-
 "ced in those Days to that Height of Hope, as
 "to attempt the *Metropolitan* of *England* to accept
 "of such a *Preferment* from *Rome*, or that so great
 "a Counsellor and Minister of State to the King
 "should suffer such a bold Attempt against his
 "Crown and Dignity, and such an undermining
 "of the Protestant Religion, to pass away unque-
 "stion'd, to prosecute his treasonable Designs of
 "introducing a Foreign Power and Religion."

Not one of these natural Reflections are to be seen in Mr. *Echard's* History. Instead of it, he extolls *Laud's* *Vigor* and *Activity* for the Honour of God; and positively affirms, *his* *Opinions* *were* *nothing* *allied* *to* *Popery*; contrary to which, Dr. *Calamy* assures us, *Laud* *joyn'd* *with* *the* *Papists*, *in* *pleading* *for* *the* *Necessity* *of* *a* *distinct* *Succession* *from* *St.* *Paul* *or* *St.* *Peter*, sometimes one, sometimes another, and sometimes both. What follows too, shews him to be nothing ally'd to Popery: *Edward* *Sherfield* Esq; Recorder of *Salisbury*, was by *Laud's* means turn'd out of his *Recordership*, &c. *A. D.* 1632. for taking down the Picture of *God the Father*, which was in *St. Edmund's* Church in that City. He was also condemn'd to pay 500*l.* by the Court of *Star-Chamber*, Mr. *Echard's* *Glory* *of* *the* *Nation*, at what Time the singular good Protestant Dr. *Laud* justify'd the making Pictures of *God the Father Almighty, Maker* *of* *Heaven* *and* *Earth*, alluding to the *ancient* *of* *Days* *in* *Scripture*. But as I have often observ'd,

observ'd, the Laymen seem'd in those Days to have the best Notions of Religion. The Earl of Dorset reply'd, *The Text means God from Eternity, and not God to be pictur'd as an old Man creating the World with a pair of Compasses.*

Much about the same Time was the Reverend and Learned Mr. *William Chauncy*, Minister of Ware in Hertfordshire, prosecuted in another of Mr. *Eckard's* glorious Courts, the *High Commission*, for saying, *Idolatry is admitted into the Church, the Preaching of the Gospel is suppress'd, and there is much Atheism, Popery, Arminianism and Heresy crept into it; which if it is every Word true, then every Word in the Archdeacon's Chronicle concerning Laud is false.* Mr. *Chauncy* was a pious worthy Man, who made a Conscience of what he said and did, which does not permit us to put his Credit in the Balance with the Historian's. *Laud*, cries he, *was active and vigorous for the Churches Honour, while Heresy, Arminianism, Popery, Atheism and Idolatry, were creeping into her.* Not only Lay Protestants, but *Papists*, Men of Sense and Learning, think more justly of these Things, than our Archdeacon and his Brethren of the same Sentiments. *The Priests, 'tis Abbot Vertot that speaks, are very often contented with an outward Zeal without an inward Faith, and are less eager in Defence of their Religion, than in that of the Wealth it produces them?*

What Opinion these Men have of the Being of a Church, has been hinted; and we may see it again by the Archdeacon's Reports of the Advancement of *Dr. Faxon* to the Bishoprick of London, and afterwards to the Treasurer's Staff. Archbishop *Laud*, quoth he, *was now at the Height of his Glory and Power. By his Recommendation, Dr. Faxon, a Minister of the Gospel, was made Lord High Treasurer of England;* and then he gives us *Faxon's* Character very different from the Earl of *Clarendon's*

don's Account of him and his Promotion. Mr. Echard says, the Treasury was *hopefully establish'd*, Lord Clarendon, that the Promotion of him set the People in a Flame. Echard laments, he had not *Laud's Zeal and Activity*. We have explain'd what he means by Activity in the Example of Archbishop Whitgift's hanging up Mr. Penry of *Alban Hall, Oxford*. The Archbishop mounted his Horse and rode by *Juxon's Side*, when he march'd in a pompous Procession from *London House* to *Westminster-Hall*, follow'd by most of the Bishops about Town. The Archbishop, says Echard, was infinitely pleas'd with making him Lord Treasurer, and believ'd, that he had provided a stronger Support of the Church. Good God! as if a Man could think of the Church when he was telling of Money; as the *Jewish Bankers* kept their Cash in the Temple. *Le Clerc* from Lord Clarendon's Character of him, thought him not fit for the Place. Sir Philip Warwick does think him so, and so does Mr. Echard, who have only against them *Le Clerc*, the Lord Clarendon, and the Reason of the Thing. As to his Sir Philip Warwick, he is so great a Trifler, that his Work wou'd have sunk with him, if it had not been buoy'd up by the Chronicles, as heavy Hulks are weigh'd up by empty Casks.

We must not omit the Historian's Account of Mr. Prynne's Prosecution, wherein will be seen how exactly and faithfully he tells Things. In the first Place he represents the very eminent Dr. Preston, as a *furious inconsiderate Man*. He's the same, who refus'd to be Lord Keeper of the *Great Seal*, as not holding it lawful for Ministers of God's Word, who have the Vocation of the Holy Ghost to the Cure of Souls, to desert their Sacred Calling, and involve themselves in worldly Affairs, as *Laud* and *Juxon* did. The Archdeacon affirms, that Dr. Preston employ'd Prynne upon Exploits, which calm
and

and considerate Men durst not appear in. Dr. Preston's Character is so infinitely superior in all Respects to that of his *Laud* or his *Juxon*, that a modest Man can't conceive how 'twas possible for him to speak a Thing so daring as he does, without the least Colour of Reason for it. This Reverend Divine was much esteem'd by Mr. *Prynne*, whose Sufferings, considering his Profession and Merit, cannot be parallell'd in the Histories of the *Pbalaris's*, the *Nero's*, &c. The *Archdeacon* assures us, that *Prynne* in his *Histrionastix* breath'd out *Disgrace to the Nation*, *Infamy to the Church*, *Reproaches to the Court*, *Dishonour to the Queen*, and some Things believ'd to be tending to the Destruction of his Majesty's Person; than which there is not an Assertion more false in the Legends of the Monks from St. *Dunstan's* Days to St. *Becket's*. Why did he not tell us, that *Prynne's* Book was licens'd by the Archbishop's Chaplain; that 'twas written against lewd Plays and lewd Actors; that it was publish'd six Weeks before the Queen acted a Part in a *Pastoral* at *Somerset-House*? Why did he not tell us, that the Words excepted at, were in the Table of the Book, *Women Actors*, notorious *Whores*; which place the Prelates and their Instruments, to use *Whitlock's* Words, shew'd to the King, and inform'd both King and Queen, that his Book was purposely written against her and her *Pastoral*, tho' printed and publish'd six Weeks before, and containing above 1000 Pages; a plain Proof, that it was written many Months, if not Years, before the Queen's *Pastoral* appear'd; all which he conceals from us; and that Archbishop *Laud* broke the Sabbath to set the Attorney-General upon prosecuting *Prynne*. *Whitlock* further informs us, that the Court, tho' exasperated by the Prelates and their Instruments, did nothing against *Prynne*, 'till *Laud* set Dr. *Heylin*, who bore a great Malice to him,

for

for confuting some of his Doctrines, to collect the scandalous Points, which he carried to Mr. Attorney Noy on a Sabbath-Day Morning, and charged him to prosecute Prynne. Echard says, he was fined 5000*l.* but conceals what follows out of *Whitlock*: That the Archbishop himself procur'd the bloody Sentence; that before the Fine was estreated, he caused Prynne's Books and Papers to be seiz'd upon and brought away from his Lodging, and had them perused and sifted to find Matter against him; of which Prynne complaining in the Star Chamber, the Archbishop deny'd his Warrant. Let the Reader now judge of the Likeness of the Archdeacon's Pictures, and the Fidelity of his History: This is his pious and religious Prelate, whom a Hundred other such Writers have describ'd as a most sanctify'd Bishop.

The Historian's Account of the Prosecution of Dr. *Bastwick* is full of Falshood and Misrepresentation. He avers, he was prosecuted for writing a Book in the *Gate-House* against the *High Commission Court*; *Whitlock* on the contrary, tells us, 'twas for his *Elenchus Papismi*, and in Answer to one *Short*, a Papist, who maintain'd the Pope's Supremacy. And Dr. *Bastwick*'s Epistle to his Book declares, he intended nothing against our Bishops, but against those of Rome. For this he was sentenc'd, as Mr. Prynne had been, to pay 5000*l.* to be pillory'd, and have his Ears cut off. The next Paragraph in *Whitlock* relates to another Prosecution, sunk entirely by the Archdeacon. "On
" the other Part, one, who was a fierce Papist,
" named *Chowney*, wrote a Book in Defence of
" the *Papish* Religion, and of the Church of Rome,
" averring it to be the true Church; and the Book
" was dedicated to, and patroniz'd by the Arch-
" bishop: So far was *Chowney* from being question'd
" and punish'd for that Doctrine." Here we

have another Instance of *Laud's* great Zeal for the Reformed Church of *England*, and of the Arch-deacon's Impartiality and Sincerity : The latter will appear still more in the very next Paragraph of *Whitlock's*, which *Echard* has also entirely omitted. It is our great Happiness to live in Times, when the Prelates of our Church both support and adorn it ; when their Lives are Lessons of the Holy Doctrines they teach, Prelates that have strenuously maintain'd true English Principles. But what Relation has this shining Character to that of the *Laud's*, the *Harsnet's*, the *Neil's*, the *Wren's*, the *Sheldon's*, the *Cosin's*, the *Morley's*, the *Mew's*, &c. To screen them as much as possible, our Historian says not a Syllable of the Proceedings of the Bishops upon *Bastwick's* Prosecution, thus related by the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*. " In the Censure of *Bastwick*, all the Bishops then present deny'd openly, that they held their Jurisdiction, as *Bishops*, from the King. For which perhaps they might have been censur'd themselves in *Henry II.* or *Edward III.* Time ; that is, they pretended to be independent of the King ; for which, when Popery was in the Height of its Tyranny, they might have been question'd" — but it was taken no Notice of in the Height of *Laud's* Power and Glory. *Whitlock* proceeds : " They affirm'd, they had their Jurisdiction from God only ; which Denyal of the Supremacy of the King under God, King *Henry VIII.* would have taken ill, and it may be would have confuted them by his Kingly Arguments & *Regiâ manu* ; but these Bishops publicly disavowed their Dependance on the King, who then was *Charles I.* the Object of so much Adoration. So far was he from being like *Henry II.* *Edward III.* or *Henry VIII.* Good God ! what Immen-

Immensity there is in the Difference? So far was he from censuring them, that they were favour'd and cherish'd in all their Principles and Practices.

The next Paragraph in *Whitlocke* shews again, how sincere and impartial our Historian is in sinking every word of it. "*The Archbishop maintain'd the Book of Chowney*; that the Church of Rome erred not in Fundamentals; and somewhat was noted to pass from him, and other Bishops, in defaming the holy Scriptures." Here's Piety! here's Protestantism! *Whitlocke* again: "*Calvin* was very much slighted and abused by the Bishops. I heard most of it, as it is here set down, and heard the rest of it to this Purpose, from those who were present at the debating these Matters in the *High Commission Court*." At this Time, says Mr. *Echard*, the Church was shining in the Grandeur, Piety and Learning of its Governors.

Enough has been said, and is known, of the illegal and hated Tax call'd *Ship-money*, levy'd without Consent of Parliament; but the Archdeacon is reconcil'd to it, because the Bishop of London had the fingering of the Money; and upon Mr. *Hampden's* being prosecuted for refusing to pay it, he says, the Legality of the Tax was graciously allowed to be heard, as if Justice was a Matter of Grace. *Whitlocke* lets us into the Reason, why the Archdeacon is so in Love with this unjust Imposition: Great Favour in it was shewn to the Clergy, but all the rest of the People murmured at the Tax. This fair, this upright Historian has not given us the least Hint, that the Priesthood was spar'd. Among the Gentlemen who suffer'd for opposing this Tax, was Sir *Symonds Dewes*, High-Sheriff of *Suffolk*, who made those parliamentary Collections, which bear his Name. The Historian's Reason for levying it, is admirable: *The French Fleet threaten'd*

threaten'd Flanders, the Dutch incroach'd upon the Coasts, and the Turks came into the Channel ; to all which, there was an End put immediately by this necessary Tac.

The very learned Mr. *Osbaldeston*, Master of the King's School at *Westminster*, was condemn'd to suffer the same unheard-of Cruelties, as Mr. *Prynne*, Dr. *Bastwick*, and Mr. *Burton*, had suffer'd, for reflecting on *Laud*, in a Letter he wrote to Bishop *Williams* : He was to be pillory'd, to pay 5000 *l.* &c. had he not made his Escape. Can there be any Religion where there's no Mercy ? Any Piety where there's so much Pride ? Or any Virtue and Merit where there's so much Obstinacy and Cruelty ? Who it was, that prosecuted Mr. *Osbaldeston* in so unchristian-like, so inhuman a Manner, appears even by the Jest made upon that worthy Man's Escape, *He's gone beyond Canterbury*. All this while was that imperious Prelate insensible of the Complaints and Sufferings of the People ; which Insensibility, the Archdeacon honours with the Name of Resolution.

Laud sign'd the Warrant for seizing the Temporalities of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, which was not the most dirty Work that ever he had a Hand in.

One may see what a Notion the Historian has of profaning the *Lord's Day*, by his calling the People's Detestation of the Book of *Sports*, an *Extream* of the *Puritan Party*. The keeping that Day holy, as the Law of God directs, is with him *rigorous Notions of a Sabbath*. Indeed, it is pleasant enough to remark in certain modern Authors, Historians and others, that without the least Sign of any true Sense of Religion and Piety, their Zeal for the Church is always in a Blaze ; by which they very plainly place the Essence of it, in Splendor, Riches, Title and Power : They have
nothing

nothing but what is temporal at Heart, and for want of Holiness and Virtue found themselves on Form and Ceremony.

Land, and his Brethren, having driven vast Numbers of pious Ministers and other religious Persons out of *England*, by cruel Persecutions in Spiritual Courts, a Proclamation was publish'd, with as whimsical and silly an Introduction as one can imagine, *because of the many idle and refractory Humours, whose only and principal End is to live without the Reach of Authority*; that is, they were idle Persons, because their Consciences were more tender than their Neighbours; they were refractory, because they endeavour'd to avoid the Persecution of Bishop *Laud's* Tyrannical Courts. Mr. *Echard* chimes in with the Proclamation, and calls those reverend Ministers and conscientious Men that remov'd to *America*, from that Prelate's Barbarity and Oppression, *factionous and ungovernable* Tempers. And what was the Danger of their Removal? Why, *it might*, says he, *be of very bad Consequence to the Ecclesiastical Power*. Then follows a Truth extorted from him by the Dint of its own Evidence, that the *Puritans* were generally free from outward Scandal; but then, as the Rabble have it, *they were Hypocrites and Cheats*. The *Presbyterians* will not swear; but, cry the Multitude, *they will lye: They will not whore, but they will cheat*. So with the Archdeacon, *The Puritans* were outwardly good; insinuating, they were inwardly wicked: Their Piety and Morality he terms demure Formality; they were seemingly virtuous, excepting some Particulars in Commerce. How base, how mean, how ridiculous, are these Expressions! Thus, those two famous Churchmen, Sir *John Lamb* and Dr. *Sibthorp*, describ'd these same *Puritans* to Bishop *Williams*, when they wou'd have instigated him to a Persecution: *They seem*

to the World to be such as will not swear, whore nor drink, but yet will cosen and deceive: They frequently hear two Sermons a Day, and repeat the same again too, and afterwards pray, and sometimes fast all Day long. Bishop Williams wou'd not hearken to those two Incendiaries, who were cherish'd by Bishop Laud, a most wise and faithful Counsellor, as appears from the Advice he gave his Master King Charles I. In his Diary he owns, 'twas resolved at the Council Table to assist the King in extraordinary Ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish: For with this good Bishop to complain of Grievances, is the worst Sort of parliamentary Peevishness. Mr. Gage, in his *English American*, p. 209. informs us, that being at Rome, Father Fitzherbert told him, that the Common-Prayer Book, which was compos'd for Scotland, was sent to Rome by Archbishop Laud, to be first view'd and approv'd by the Pope and Cardinals, who, upon refusal, approv'd of it. Gage, in the same Book, tells us, how he came to be converted from Popery to Protestantism, Cap. 22. p. 205. "I continued
"twelve Months at my Uncle's House at Gatton,
"searching, tho' unknown to my Uncle and Kindred, into the Doctrine and Truth of the Gospel professed in England; for which Cause, I
"made many Journeys to London, and then privately I resorted to some Churches, especially
"to Paul's Church, to see the Service perform'd,
"and to hear the Word of God preached, but so
"that I might not be seen, known or discover'd
"by the Papists. When, in Paul's Church, I heard
"the Organs and the Musick, and the Prayers
"and the Collects, and saw the Ceremonies at the
"Altar, according to Archbishop Laud's Injunctions
"and Example, I remember'd Rome again, and
"perceived little Difference betwixt the two
"Churches. I search'd farther into the Common-Prayer

“ *Prayer Book*, and carried with me a Bible into
 “ the Country, on purpose to compare the Pray-
 “ ers, Epistles and Gospels, with a *Mass Book*;
 “ which there I had at command, and I found no
 “ Difference but only *English* and *Latin*; which
 “ made me wonder and acknowledge, that much
 “ remain’d still of *Rome* in the Church of Eng-
 “ land, and I fear’d my Calling was not right.”
 But with Mr. Gage’s Leave, a Thing is not the
 worse for that others use it, if in itself it be lau-
 dable and innocent. The Lord’s Prayer and Creed
 are in the *Mass Book*, and are not the less worthy
 of a Place in the Book of *Common-Prayer*; but the
Ave’s, the *Gloria’s*, &c. are not the better for the
 Place they are found in; and others besides
 Gage have wish’d, that Men of Mr. *Echard’s* Prin-
 ciples, had not so much made a Jest of a thorough
Reformation. The learned and pious Bishop *Hall*,
 in his *Quo vadis*, says, *My Eyes and Ears can wit-
 ness, with what Applause the Catholicks entertain’d
 the new translated Liturgy of our Church.* ’Twould
 have been madness to have hop’d for any more
Reformation, while such a Prelate as Dr. *Laud* go-
 verned both Church and State; instead of which,
 during all this Reign, People were under terrible
 Apprehensions of the Growth of *Popery*: They
 saw the Number and Interest of the *Papists* increase
 daily; yet Mr. *Echard* makes light of it, and Lord
Clarendon treats those just Apprehensions, as idle
 Fears and Dreams. Foreigners lie under no Temp-
 tation to misrepresent Things for the Sake of a
 Party; and the noble *Wiquesfort* informs us, that
 there were Designs a Foot to enslave us to *Rome*;
 and Bishop *Laud* was chief Promoter of them.
Wiquesfort knew better than my Lord *Clarendon*,
 what was doing abroad and at home, against our
 Holy Religion, and not one Word in the History
 of the grand Rebellion, to give us a Glimpse of
 Light

Light in so dark an Affair. I do not boast as Mr. *Echard* does, that his Memoirs are all pick'd ones, and no where else to be met with; when it is visible, the greatest Curiosities in them were furnish'd by Hearsay: But I must observe, that Monsieur *Wiquefort's* Relation of *Laud's* Negotiation with Cardinal *Rosetti*, was never in any *English* History before; and that noble Author assures us further, the Archbishop was inclin'd to *Papistry*; which was so well known, that upon the coming out of his Conference with *Fisher*, the Archdeacon confesses it was said, *He might preach what he wou'd against Popery, he should not be thought the less Papist.* Mr. *Echard* says, *this Sentence needs no greater Aggravation*, and so say I. Every Action of his, had in it so much of the Superstition and Spirit of the *Romish* Church, that no Man in his Wits cou'd think him an Enemy to it! 'Twas in his Days as in our own, among his Disciples and Adorers: No Matter what were a Man's Morals, if his Zeal was in a Flame. The Lord *Conway*, says the Archdeacon, was a Man of *Epicurean* Principles, yet the Archbishop look'd upon him as a most zealous Defender of the Church, tho' in truth he had little or no Sense of Religion.

Before Mr. *Echard* opens his History of the Long Parliament 1640, he tells us a pleasant Story, which came from a young *Papist* at *Rome*, and is vouch'd by those two modest and moderate Writers *Heylin* and *Wharton*. The young *Papist* told an old one, "That the *English* were returning to their Mother-Church, for they began to set up Altars, to officiate in Copes, to adorn their Churches, to have the Pictures of Saints, &c." But the subtle old Priest was of another Opinion, saying, *The nearer the Church of England drew to the Roman Church, the more Papists would join with it.* *Wharton* has help'd him to another Tale from an Abbot

of Rome, that *when Laud was beheaded, the Catholics had Cause to rejoice, for the greatest Champion of the Church of England was cut off.* I have frequently observ'd, that the Writers from which our Historian takes most of his Memoirs, are too open to need Remark. The Folly and Malice swim on the Surface, and to repeat what they say is sufficient.

I resolv'd from the Beginning to enter no farther into Controversy, than History was concern'd in it. I am my self entirely satisfy'd with our Constitution ecclesiastical and civil, and am heartily sorry that there is left any Occasion of Offence to the most scrupulous Consciences: For this Reason, I do not spare those that have been the true Cause of all our Divisions and Distractions, from King *James* the First's coming to the Crown, to King *James* the Second's leaving it; and what I am about to say of Archbishop *Laud's* Notions of Episcopacy, is not to lessen the Dignity of that Order, to which, as it is now executed, no Man more readily and chearfully pays Obedience; but to shew how *these Men* equivocate and prevaricate in their Arguments. In Bishop *Laud's* Letter, in Answer to one of good Bishop *Hall's*, *he says, No Church was ever planted any where, but the very first Feature of the Body of a Church was, with Archbishops, Bishops, Chancellors, Deans, Archdeacons, Mitres, Copes, Crucifixes, &c.* This is what they call *primitive Episcopacy*; they never enter into the Difference, between the first Bishop *Timothy* trudging a-Foot from one Church to another, and preaching in a Barn or a Cottage, and a *Dunstan* or a *Becket*, in their Metropolitan Thrones. Again, *You grant, says Bishop Laud, that the Presbyterian Government may be of use, &c.* good Bishop *Hall* was of that Opinion. *Since they challenge the Presbyterian Fiction to be of Christ's Kingdom, as your self*

R. Rev.
P. 980.

self expresseth it, we must not use any mincing Terms, but unmask them. What follows is a Proof of the good Disposition of him and his Disciples to our Protestant Brethren abroad. *Nor shall I ever give way to hamper ourselves, for fear of speaking plain Truth, though it be against Amsterdam or Geneva:* And he shew'd, he was not afraid of them, with a Vengeance, by shutting up the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Protestant Churches in *London*, contrary to the Law of God and Nations, and driving them to his *Altars* and *Images*, or out of the Kingdom. We all know that *Mr. Echard*, &c. deny that he held any unlawful Correspondence with the *Papists*: But *A. Wood* the *Oxonian*, on the contrary, assures us, he sent for one *Fryar Jones* from *Dorset*, Superior of the *English Benedictines*, and titular Prior of *Canterbury* in the Archbishop's Neighbourhood, to consult with him about important Points of Religion. The Lord help us, if our Religion was to be supported by such Protestants! Was this Conference to convert *Fryar Jones* or *Dr. Laud*? *A. Wood* adds very simply, the *Puritans* did not love *Fryar Jones* nor *Bishop Laud*. I believe not, nor any other *Fryar*, that renounc'd his Religion and Liberty at home, to live abroad in Idolatry and Slavery. I do not however go so far as *Prynne*, who affirms positively, the Conference between the *Fryar* and the Archbishop, was to reconcile us to Rome.

We have just seen how well read *Bishop Laud* was in Church History, with respect to *Presbytery*; and we have another Instance of it in his Speech, at the Condemnation of *Mr. Burton*, an Orthodox Divine, whose Ears were to be cut off with *Dr. Bastwick's* and *Mr. Prynne's*. I say further, that, in the *Apostle's* Time, in all Ages, in all Places, the Church of Christ was govern'd by Bishops, such as himself, seated in the highest Seat in the Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts; such as

Dr. *Juxon* riding in Procession, with the White Staff to the Treasury; such as Dr. *Robinson* treating of *War and Peace*, or sealing of *Fiats* and *Mandates*. Again, *Lay-Elders* were never heard of till *Calvins new-fangled Device* at Geneva; than which there never was a greater Misrepresentation deliver'd with so much Assurance and Bitterness. Let us turn to that admirable Treatise, never to be answer'd by all the Sophistry and Pedantry of the most inveterate Bigots, entitul'd, *An Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church*; and we shall find above 100 Pages of it directly contrary to Bishop *Laud's* Assertion; particularly, in p. 64. the very learned and judicious Author informs us, *that Bishops and Presbyters were of the same Order, that they had originally one and the same Name; each of them being indifferently called Bishops or Presbyters: Hence, we read in sacred Writ of several Bishops in one particular Church, as the Bishops of Ephesus and Philippi; that is, the Bishops and Presbyters of those Churches, as they were afterwards distinctly call'd: And Clemens Romanus sometimes mentions many Bishops in the Church of Corinth, whom, at other times, he calls by the Name of Presbyters. Again, Irenæus twice calls Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus and Xistus, (Five Popes) Presbyters only. As to Lay-Elders, we shall find also, that very early, 1400 Years before Calvin's new-fangled Device, not only the Lay-Elders, but the Lay-Members, had the Election and Choice of Bishops and Presbyters: They attested to their Ordination, they depos'd Bishops on Account of Heresy or Wickedness, and the Bishops did nothing without the Consent of the People; but King Charles the First's Bishops would do every Thing without even the King's Consent, as we have shewn already.*

P. 66.

P. 103.

We have seen more than once, that *these Men* treat all foreign Protestants, as Schismatics; and the Archdeacon confounds Protestant Dissenters in England with the *furious Arians*, who were for Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, as much as he himself can be. In my former Part, I made some mention of the Canons of the Convocation which sat after King Charles I. dissolv'd the Parliament of April 1640, whose Canons, to use Mr. Echard's own Words, *were thought to be to the Advantage of both Church and State*; which is so positively false, that the Parliament voted them to be *against the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the King's Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Rights of Parliament, and tending to Faction and Sedition*. A Bill was also brought in to fine them: But, says the Archdeacon, on his own bare Authority, in Opposition to the Sense of the Legislature, the *antient Rights of the Clergy were invaded by it*: He adds, it was hop'd these Canons would have added *Strength, as well as Ornament to the Church*. We may see how it was hop'd, by the Title only of a Treatise printed about the same time, call'd England's *Complaint to JESUS CHRIST, against the Bishop's Canons of the late SINFUL SYNOD*: A Seditious Conventicle, a Pack of Hypocrites, a *Traiterous Conspiracy, against Christ's True Religion, and the weal Publick of the Land, and consequently against the Kingdom and Crown*. In this *Complaint* are specified those *Impieties and Insolencies, which are notorious through the CANONS and CONSTITUTIONS of the said Sinful Synod*. Echard affirms, these wicked Canons *underwent all the Scrutiny of the Laity*, which cannot be true; because the Parliament, who are the proper Judges, were so far from scrutinizing them, that they condemn'd them in the Lump: He would insinuate, that Bishop Laud should not have been blam'd for them;

*Des Mai-
zeaux. Col.*

but Mr. *Locke* assures us, that these Canons were the Device of Archbishop *Laud*: To these Canons he ascribes all the Mischiefs that have befall'n us since the detestable Oath, which was in Debate in 1675, to swear Submission without Reserve to Government; without Reserve, is establish'd by one of those Canons. The Clergy was obliged to swear, they believ'd, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church contain'd all Things necessary to Salvation, and that they wou'd never consent to take away Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and even Archdeacons. This was the Pattern for the Party from that Time, till they and their Doctrines were routed by the Revolution.

About this time, the Historian gives a History of King *Charles* the First's Cabinet Council, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, the Lord *Cottington*, the Bishop of *London*, Sir *Francis Windebank*, from whose Characters of Prudence, Moderation, Disinterest, Sincerity and Experience, what could be expected, but what happen'd in a Protestant and Free Country, till *Cromwell* got the Mastery?

While I am upon this Subject, let me add the Reflections of a Gentleman, who has liv'd long in the World, and been much acquainted with the Affairs of it: I take 'em from a Manuscript, wherein he has made Observations on the Lord *Clarendon's* History; which I do not publish entire, out of Respect to those weak Stomachs, who take Offence at strong Meats.

“ As to the Earl of *Clarendon's* Character of
“ King *Charles* the First, I will not quarrel with
“ what he says of him as a private Gentleman:
“ It may be true, and much more for ought I
“ know; but his Character of him, as a Prince,
“ is the most misrepresented as can be imagin'd,
“ as appears from *Echard's* own History through-

“ out

“ out his whole Reign ; which, whoever confi-
 “ ders deliberately, will find, that the Admini-
 “ stration was the weakest that ever was, or that
 “ the Design for Arbitrary Power was form’d, since
 “ all Means were us’d to establish it, tho’ they
 “ fail’d in the End. My Lord *Clarendon* says, if
 “ he had been of a rougher and more imperious
 “ Nature, he would have found more Respect
 “ and Duty. *You see how they deal in IF’s* ; and
 “ his not applying some severe Cures to approach-
 “ ing Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his
 “ Nature and the Tenderneſs of his Conſcience,
 “ which, in all Caſes of Blood, made him chuſe
 “ the ſofter Way, and not hearken to ſevere Coun-
 “ ſels how reaſonably ſoever urg’d ; than which
 “ there cannot be a groſſer Miſrepresentation.
 “ Witneſs the cruel Punishments and Fines which
 “ were inflicted by the *Star-Chamber*, and might
 “ have been prevented had the Sovereign Power
 “ interpos’d. Witneſs the Arbitrary Raiſing of
 “ Taxes, and imprifoning and fining ſo many
 “ Gentlemen, for endeavouring to maintain their
 “ legal Rights, and the ſtopping the Judges from
 “ giving their Determination, according to their
 “ Oaths and Duty. I don’t know what my Lord
 “ means, *by not hearkning to ſevere Counſels how*
 “ *reaſonably ſoever urg’d* ; unleſs it was, that the
 “ Soldiers which were rais’d, were not ſuffer’d to
 “ do in *England* what the *Papiſts* did in *Ireland*.
 “ I cannot admire his Lordſhip’s Judgment, in
 “ ſaying, that ſo many miraculous Circumſtances
 “ contributed to his Ruin, that Men might well
 “ think Heaven and Earth conſpired ; for, indeed,
 “ there was nothing like a Miracle in it, but there
 “ was ſuch Management by *Laud*, *Strafford*, &c. as
 “ all wiſe Men might in the ordinary Courſe of
 “ Providence ſee would have made the King ab-
 “ ſolute and the Nation Slaves, or would produce

P. 142.

“such 'or the like Effects, as it did without any
 “Miracle.” The King himself was so tir'd out
 with Petitions against the Canons, even from the
 Clergy, that he suspended their Execution; not a
 Hint of these Things in our most impartial and
 sincere Historiographer.

We have taken a pretty full View of the Merits
 of Archbishop *Laud*, whose Colleague in the active
 and important Ministry of the *Star-Chamber* and
High Commission, *Ship-money*, *Loans*, &c. was
 Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, an Apostate from the Coun-
 try Party and Interest, and brib'd by Places and
 Pensions to enter into a Confederacy with *Laud*,
 against our happy Constitution in Church and
 State, to set up an Arbitrary Government in both,
 and to destroy Liberty ecclesiastical and civil: He
 became the most furious Enemy to those who, with
 himself, had formerly defended the same good
 Cause, and rag'd against them, to shew the Sincer-
 ity of his Conversion. *Eckard* of him too, *A Man*
of extraordinary Parts and Endowments of Nature,
of a piercing Judgment, &c. for, as abounding as
 the Historian is in Words, he seems to want them
 for such a superlative Character. We are about
 to shew how his piercing Judgment work'd in the
 Counsels he gave his Master King *Charles I.* and
 the Sentiments he inspir'd him with. Let the
 Reader then judge of the Perfection of his Poli-
 ticks, or the Honour of his Mind. General *Lud-*
low, an Historian of equal Rank with the best of
 them, tells us, he advis'd the King

To build Citadels in every Chief Town.

To make a Sort of Standing Army of the Militia.
To govern by Force, not Affection: Oh, the
piercing Judgment!

To compel the Parliament to conform to his Will
and Pleasure.

To allow none to wear Arms.

To

To make Laws by Proclamations, and not be constrain'd by the Impertinence of Parliaments.

To oblige People to take an Oath, acknowledging Absolute and Arbitrary Power.

To raise between Two and Three Millions a Year, by a Scheme, without Consent of Parliament.

Sir Thomas Layton, High-Sheriff of Yorkshire, swore, that *Strafford* said, *The King's little Finger shou'd be heavier than the Loins of the Law.* This, says the Archdeacon, was *the tall Cedar of the Wood; the wisest Man in the three Kingdoms*, and he gives us the best Reason in the World why he says it; for Mr. *Hollis's* Brother-in-Law offering him his Life, if he wou'd perswade the King against Bishops; he reply'd, *I will die first*, or Words to that Effect. 'Tis a strange Thing, that neither the Lord *Clarendon* nor Archdeacon *Echard*, who wou'd make us believe that neither *Machiavel* nor *Ricblieu*, nor any of greatest Politicians, were to compare to *Strafford* for Wisdom, can give us one Instance of it. He was so wise as to make himself hated in *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and what none of these Writers dare deny, to occasion an invincible Prejudice against his Master's Government, by his arbitrary and unpopular Counsels, which our Historians softly stile *disobliging Measures*. I wish any of them would shew us, in what he appear'd to be the *wisest Man in the three Kingdoms*; 'twas a Time of *Fraction*. Except what Business was carry'd on in the *Star-Chamber and Spiritual Courts*, no-Body seem'd to have any thing to do, but *Projectors, Proctors, Jail-Keepers, Whippers, &c.* there was not a State in *Europe*, that valu'd the Friendship of *England*, or troubled themselves about her. For God's sake,

what Opportunities had this wonderful Statesman to learn the Arts of Government in *Yorkshire*, or to prepare them in *London* or *Dublin*, in such a Juncture as that was, when the Court had no Parliaments, no Allies, no Foreign Wars or Treaties to manage? These Men allow, that the Articles against him were full of Weaknesses, Pride and Severity; but they will not allow that to conspire the Death of the Constitution is Treason, that to betray one's Country makes a Man a Traitor, or that the Laws can put a capital Offender to Death. King *Charles*, as Mr. *Echard* will have it, committed a Sin in consenting to the Attainder.

Before we enter with him into the History of the Long Parliament, let us look a little into his Management of the *Bishop's War*, for he marches two Armies to the Borders of *Scotland*; and if the *Scots* Army are not cut to pieces, 'tis not for Want of his good Will to it. Page 472, he tells us, the Earl of *Holland* march'd towards the Enemy, *who were but 3000 sorry Fellows, with 3000 Horse, and 2000 Foot: That by ill Fortune he left his Foot and Artillery three or four Miles behind him; and was so frightened, that he sent Orders to his Foot to advance: That he retreated in the Fright at the Apparition of the Scots Army; and then comes his usual after Wit, IF he had fought, he might have finish'd the War.* By a Letter sign'd by King *Charles I.* himself, giving an Account of this Action, Mr. *Echard's* appears to be full of *Insincerity* and *Prevarication*. Lord *Holland* had but 1000 Horse and no Foot when he advanc'd towards the *Scots*, who were 8 or 10000, as my Lord said himself, and as others 5 or 6000. Instead of running away at the Sight of the *Scots*, he commanded them by a Trumpet to retire, but the *Scots* being five to one took little Notice of his Command; and his Lordship, whose Design was

P. 472.

Whitl.
Rusbw.
P. 936.

was only to reconnoitre the Enemy, drew off his 1000 Horse, with which our Historian assures us, he might have beaten the *Scots* Army, and put a glorious End to the War. There are very few Instances of the like false Representation and false Reasoning in so few Lines: What he calls the Earl of *Holland's* ill Fortune, was his Precaution in leaving his Foot three Miles behind, while he advanc'd to discover the Strength and Disposition of the *Scots*; for to use a little of his own *After-Wit*, had he come up with his 1000 Horse and 3000 Foot, as is mentioned in the King's Letter, what Opportunity would he have had of beating 8 or 10000 *Scots*, as is also there mentioned? Besides the Marquis of *Hamilton* had written to the King, that the *Covenanters* Army was 25000, and the Report of it was enough to hinder the Earl of *Holland's* advancing farther. But that Lord must not expect a good Word from him till his Head is cut off, which was the last Proof of his Loyalty.

The next inglorious Entrance into *Scotland* is laid to this Earl's Charge also; tho' what he did was by Order of the Council of War; and he retreated, by Advice of Sir *Jacob Aspley*, Lord *Goring*, and a Council of Officers. The Truth is, these were two foolish Undertakings, push'd on by the Rashness of unexperienced Commanders, and the forward Zeal of such as engag'd in this unnatural War, purely because the *Scots* were *Presbyterians*.

In Page 474. We find the Historian is sunk deep into *Secret History*, and has conjur'd out a Contrivance which no body cou'd have communicated to him otherwise. I beg the Reader to observe his Exactness in this too. After the *Pacification* in the North, the King, says "he, sent for twelve of the chief *Covenanters*" "to come to him, to consult about a Session of" "Parliament, of whom only seven appear'd." "The

“ the King commands them to send Post for the
 “ other five, which being done, they prepar’d and
 “ took Horse. *Now comes the conjuring*, but had
 “ contriv’d the Business, that before they could
 “ leave *Edinburgh*, Multitudes were met to stop
 “ them.” *Rusworth*, who was on the Spot,
 informs us, that his twelve Chiefs were fourteen
 Chiefs; that the only seven who appear’d, were
 only three; and that the *Scots* would send no more,
 not knowing what the Incendiaries, *Land* and *Straf-*
ford might do against them; ’tis the Fault of the
 Period we write of. If there’s so little Action in
 it, and our Remarks are so trifling; it is not made
 up to us, as it is to him in *Spiritual Splendors* and
Powers; for as far as the Grace of God has en-
 lighten’d us, we can have no Conception of con-
 founding Spirituals with Temporals, or seeking
 for the Kingdom of Christ in the Poms and Vani-
 ties of this wicked World.

The *Scots* Parliament and Assembly meeting,
 we are told, the Earl of *Traquaire* was the King’s
 Commissioner. *Traquaire* is called a hard Name
 by Sir *Philip Warwick*, the *Versatile* Earl; but the
 Archdeacon adds, others call’d him worse. None
 of them tell us, that King *Charles I.* in his In-
 structions directed what should be done, as to abo-
 lishing *Episcopacy*. *We allow that Episcopacy be abo-*
lished, for the Reasons contain’d in the Articles and the
Covenant, 1580, &c. Again, *if they require Epif-*
copacy to be abjur’d, you are to give Way to it.
 What becomes of all the Zeal which we hear so
 much of, even to *Martyrdom*? *Episcopacy* is here
abolish’d and *abjur’d* by that King’s Allowance, the
 Covenant approv’d as good Argument. What
 Consistency is there in *Abolishment* in one Place,
 and dying for it in another. The Truth is, such
 Hardships were put on the Crown by the Parlia-
 ment’s Proposals for Peace, that no King of this
 Prince’s

Prince's Spirit and Resolution could comply with them, and that Resolution is apply'd all to the Church, for *Reasons* very obvious to every one that can think; whereas the State had more than a Share in the Merit of it. And could the Article of the Militia have been accommodated, 'tis very plain, that of Episcopacy would have been given up for Peace Sake.

He speaks of *Graham*, Bishop of *Orkney's* recanting Episcopacy, but will not let us have the Form of his Abjuration, which he had read in *Rushworth*, Aug. 17. 1639. M E Mr. *George Graham* sometime pretended Bishop of *Orkney*, being sorry and grieved at my Heart, that I should ever for any worldly Respect have embraced the Order of Episcopacy, the same having no Warrant from the Word of God, and being such an Order as hath sensibly many fearful and evil Consequences, &c. I do by the Tenor hereof altogether disclaim and abjure all Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction. If these Men had Learning and Ability, they wou'd not be afraid of repeating such Cant and Impertinence. They would be so far from being scandaliz'd at it, that they would express it to shew the Nonsense and Bigotry. Whoever will read the *Savoy Conference* will be convinc'd, that the *Presbyterians* do not alledge, that there are any fearful or evil Consequences in Episcopacy. Several of the Principal *Presbyterian* Ministers not only agreed to subscribe to Episcopacy, but to accept of Bishopricks themselves, if other Differences were made up. The intemperate Zeal and unchristian Spirit of certain Ecclesiasticks, such as I have often mention'd, have been the great Obstacle to all Comprehension and Christian Union, and not the primitive *Hierarchy* in the Church derived from the Apostles, and continuing with Purity for several Centuries.

At the Opening of the long Parliament in 1640,
Mr.

Mr. Echard gives us a Character of the Members, *Men of the New Religion*; as new as if it had just dropt down from the Moon, tho' three or four hundred Years older than the old Religion of *Laud* and his Disciples, consisting of *Councils, Synods, Forms, Powers, Superstition* and *Persecution*: Those Members were also *notorious Opposers of the King and the Clergy, Cheek by Jowl*. That's enough for him to handle them as roughly, as if they were his Inferiors, as are all the Writers of History in his Way of treating them, excepting the Earl of Clarendon. *Citizens and Lawyers were chosen in Corporations, which had never so much as heard of them*. I directly charge him with this Falsity, having the List before me to prove it upon him, and knowing the Characters of almost every one of the Members. The ingenious Dr. *Welwood* assures us on the contrary: *No Age ever produc'd greater Men than those that sat in this Parliament*. To this, he adds another Misrepresentation; *many other uncommon Practices were us'd to defeat the King's Friends, yet after all the Artifices of the Puritans, they cou'd not make a Third Part of the House of Commons*. Again quite contrary to him is *Whitlock*: "The Court labour'd
 " to bring in their Friends, but those who had
 " most Favour at Court, had least in the Country,
 " and it was not a little strange to see, what a
 " Spirit of Opposition to the Court Proceedings
 " was in the Hearts and Actions of most of the
 " People, so that very few of that Party had the
 " Favour to be chosen Members of this Parli-
 " ment." The Archdeacon makes those *very few* to be above two Thirds. We are told one Thing by the Author of the History of *Sham Plots, &c.* which neither Mr. Echard, nor the Lord Clarendon, nor Dugdale, nor Nelson, nor Heath, nor Warwick, nor Sanderson, nor Wagstaffe, nor Symonds,

Symonds, nor in a word one of them all ever did or ever would have told us, which is, that there was really but one profess'd *Presbyterian* in all this Parliament; and he was *Zouch Tate Esq;* Burgess for *Northampton*. The Majority indeed was *Puritans*, but the *Puritans* were not all *Presbyterians*, tho' they were against such Prelates and Prelacy, as *Laud* and his *Spiritual Courts*. Our Historian informs us something else of the *Presbyterians*, which is not true; that their *Ministers* came from all Parts of the Country to London, to promote the Civil War in the Pulpit and out of it. And again, they set up the most turbulent Preachers that could be found. Dr. *Calamy* is opposite to this as Light is to Darkness, which will be shewn elsewhere.

The Truth is, the *Montagues*, the *Mamwarings*, both made Bishops, the *Sibthorps*, and such like Clergymen, had been flattering the Court, at the Expence of the Constitution ever since King *James* came first for *England*, who was for making no Conquests upon any Prince's Subjects but his own. The Court and Cathedral Sermons were full of divine Right and unlimited Obedience; and it was not owing to them, that our Government did not become as absolute and tyrannical, as that of *Fez*. This alarm'd all true Lovers of their Country, and created such Discontents, as ended in a Cruel War. There is nothing in History so true and so obvious, as this fatal Effect of Flattery and false Zeal. 'Twas in every one's Mouth in Parliament and out of it; yet Mr. *Echard* copying after the Earl of *Clarendon*, beat the Ecclesiastical Drum in Puritan Churches only. Mr. *Waller*, the most eminent Speaker and Writer of those Times, declares as much in his Speech to the Parliament, A. D. 1640. His Majesty shall hear the Truth from us, and we shall make appear the Errors of those Divines, who wou'd perswade us, that a Monarch must be absolute,
and

and that he may do all Things *ad libitum*, receding not only from their Text, but from the Way their own Profession might teach them, State super vias antiquas. Remove not the antient Bounds, &c. I am sorry these Men take no more Care to gain our Belief of those Things which they tell us for our Soul's Health, while we know them so manifestly in the Wrong in that which concerns the Liberties and Privileges of the Subjects of England: But they gain Preferment, and then 'tis no Matter, tho' they neither believe themselves, nor are believ'd by others. And since they are so ready to let loose the Consciences of their Kings, we are the more carefully to provide for our Protection against this Pulpit Law, by declaring and reinforcing the municipal Laws of the Kingdom. Is there a Word of all this in the *Grand Rebellion*, or *Mr. Echard's History*? Was it not all by Encouragement of *Laud* and his Brethren! Where then is the boasted Sincerity and Impartiality? And can any Thing in the World be more absurd and ridiculous than their pretending to it!

It had been impossible for the Archdeacon to have run himself into so many Mistakes and Errors, if before he began his History, he had not list'd himself on the Side of Ceremony and Severity, arbitrary Power and Oppression; if he had not resolv'd implicitly to follow such blind Guides, as *Heath*, *Nelson*, &c. There were three Gentlemen that had written the same History, all three of them Members of Parliament and Men of Learning, *Mr. Ludlow*, *Mr. Whitlocke*, *Mr. Rushworth*, to whom if he had had due Recourse, he would have seen and been asham'd of the Partiality and Prevarication in the very best of his Historians, and of the Falshood and Insolence of them.

We have a second Judgment of his upon this very Parliament in the following pleasant Passage. The Male-administration under *Strafford* and *Laud* had

had been so notorious, that there's scarce a Mortal, except *Heylin*, *Nelson*, &c. who did not readily agree concerning Grievances which wanted Redress. Lord *Clarendon*, Mr. *Echard* and others, declare this every where: The Ministry was bad, 'tis own'd; but when you come to the Ministers, they explain it all away again, wash off all Spots, and leave 'em as white as Snow. *The Parliament had unquestionably several real Grievances*, says the Historian, *but few of them were able to apply the right Cures*; the Nonsense of which is equal to the Falshood. There were real Grievances in the Ministry; the Ministers must necessarily be guilty, and Punishment is the plain and infallible Cure of Guilt. *Laud* and *Strafford* were charg'd by the People of England, Scotland and Ireland, as guilty of all the crying Grievances in Church and State; who will dare to assert, that *Strafford* and *Laud* were not the prime, if not sole Counsellors to the King; and accountable therefore for these *real Grievances*, the Archdeacon himself talks of? But when they came to be punish'd, then the *Meekness* and *Innocence* of the Dove, are the Emblem of Archbishop *Laud*; and the Valour and Virtue of the Greek and Roman Heroes, a faint Image of the Perfections of the Earl of *Strafford*.

Some of the first Speakers against this Male-Administration were Mr. *Hyde*, afterwards Lord *Clarendon*, Lord *Digby*, Sir *John Colepeper*, Lord *Falkland*. My Lord *Clarendon* spoke against the Earl of *Strafford*, complaining of the Tyranny of the Court of *Tork* under his Government; a Clause being inserted in his Commission for President, establishing a *Mass of new, exorbitant, and intolerable Power* for the wisest Man in the three Kingdoms, as Mr. *Echard* calls him. Lord *Digby* in his Speech about *Episcopacy*; *There is no Man within these Walls more sensible of the heavy Grievance*

of Church Government than my self, nor whose Affections are more keen to the clipping of those Wings of the Prelates, whereby they have mounted to such Insolencies; nor whose Zeal is more ardent to the searing them so as that they may never spring; which is as much as any good Puritan could reasonably desire. And the Lord Falkland intimates the same in his Speech, which contains so much Truth, that one wou'd wonder why it is sunk by the Archdeacon; as also that Part of the Lord Digby's abovemention'd, if one did not know the Man. But where's the Sincerity, the Impartiality, about which he makes such a *Potter* in his Prefaces and Introductions? Lord Falkland said, "He's a great
 "Stranger in *Israel*, who knows not that this
 "Kingdom hath long labour'd under many and
 "great Oppressions, both in Religion and Liberty. *Laud* and *Strafford* again. And his Acquaintance here, is not great, or his Ingenuity less,
 "who doth not know and acknowledge, that a
 "great, if not a principal Cause of both these
 "have been some *Bishops* and their Adherents. A
 "little Search will serve to find them who have
 "been the Destruction of Unity, *his Lordship*
 "means the very same *Laud*, under Pretence of
 "Uniformity; they have brought in Superstition
 "and Scandal, under the Titles of Reverence
 "and Decency; they have defil'd our Church, by
 "adorning our Churches." The Defiler of our Church is again the same *Laud*, who, according to Mr. *Echard*, did nothing but what was for the Glory of God, and the Honour of the Church. The Wonder is, how my Lord Falkland should know what is Reverence and what Superstition, what Decency and what Scandal, what Ornament and what Corruption, better than the Archbishop *Laud*, or our Historian, who is a Clergyman, and should know all these Things, whether or no he knew any thing of History?

My

“ My Lord *Falkland*: we have slacken’d the
 “ Strictness of that Union which was formerly
 “ between us and those of our Religion beyond
 “ Sea.” *Laud* call’d that Religion *new-fangled* at
Geneva, and persecuted the Foreigners who pro-
 fess it. His Lordship calls the slackning of that
 Union, an Action as *impolitick as ungodly*. Mr.
Echard says, Bishop *Laud*, who did it, was a godly
 politick Man: “ We shall find them, *continues*
 “ his Lordship, who have tythed Mint and Anise,
 “ and have left undone the weightier Works of
 “ the Law. It hath been more dangerous for
 “ Men to go to some Neighbours Parish, when
 “ they had no Sermon in their own, than to be
 “ obstinate and perpetual Recusants: While Masses
 “ have been said in Security, a Conventicle hath
 “ been a Crime; and which is yet more, the con-
 “ forming to Ceremonies hath been more exacted
 “ than the conforming to Christianity.” Have
 my Lord *Clarendon*, or Mr. *Echard*, a Word like
 this in their respective impartial Histories? Yet
 the noble Speaker, two or three Years after, sa-
 crificed his Life in King *Charles*’s Quarrel against
 the Parliament. His Lordship once more: “ We
 “ shall find them to have been like the Hen in
 “ *Æsop*, which laying every Day an Egg with
 “ such a Proportion of Barley, her Mistress in-
 “ creasing her Proportion, in Hopes she would in-
 “ crease her Eggs, she grew so fat by that Ad-
 “ dition, that she never laid more: So, tho’ at
 “ first, their Preaching were the Occasion of their
 “ Preferment, they after made their Preferment
 “ the Occasion of their not Preaching.” All this
 has Reference to Bishop *Laud*, of whom what fol-
 lows is but a small Part of his Character drawn by
 Archdeacon *Echard*: “ He was adorn’d with un-
 “ questionable Honesty and Integrity; he believ’d
 “ his Innocence and Fidelity were sufficient Guards

P. 410.

“ in his Journey through the World ; he had no
 “ End in all his Designs but what was pious and
 “ just.” ’Tis so ; they do really understand Justice
 and Piety no better. I omit Mr. *Bagshaw*, Mr.
Grimston, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*’s Speeches to the
 same Purpose, being not writing a History, but
 remarking upon others, who wou’d impose this
 Prelate upon us, as the most religious and most
 injur’d one that ever suffer’d Martyrdom ; for they
 declare he so suffer’d, by the Sentence of the
 Lords and Commons of *England*, and by the
 Votes of good *Englishmen* and good Protestants.

In the Debate about Episcopacy, Mr. *Echard*
 wou’d make us believe there was a great Opposi-
 tion to the Vote for *restraining it*, several smart
Sayings, great *Rubs*, remarkable Speeches ; where-
 as *Whitlocke* informs us, there were not many who
 were very eager for it. In the Prosecution of Bi-
 shop *Laud*, the Archdeacon assures us, great Men’s
Prejudices against him were insuperable, for his
 most laudable Actions : Against which is every Word
 abovemention’d, spoken by my Lord *Falkland*. I
 wish he had mention’d one or two of his most
 laudable Actions. Are they any one of these, as
 in *Whitlocke*, p. 84.

*His removing the Communion-Table and setting
 up Altars*, contrary to the Ecclesiastical In-
 junctions in King *Edward VIth*’s and Queen
Elizabeth’s Reigns.

*His causing Superstitious Pictures and Crucifixes
 to be set up in many Churches*, and in the
*King’s Chapel causing a Popish Crucifix to
 be hung up over the Altar*, upon every Good
 Friday, which had not been there before, since
 the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

His

His Picture of the Inspiration of the Pope and Whittl. Cardinals, by the Holy Ghost, resembled in P. 82. the Form of a Dove, found in his Closet.

His consecrating Churches, Tapers, Candlesticks.

His assuming the Title of Pope, and the Stile of Optimus Maximus; Tour Sacred Holiness, Æternum Reverendissime Cancellarie, & Maximus Pontifex, given him by the University of Oxford.

His Books of Sports on the Sabbath Day.

His holding the Pope to be Metropolitan Bishop of the World.

His chiding of Bishop Hall for calling the Pope Antichrist.

His concealing a Plot reveal'd to him of 7000 Papists in Pay to massacre the Protestants.

All which, cries Echard, he answer'd with great Strength of Argument; but the Lords and Commons of England design'd to sacrifice him; which is not the only Instance of his Malignity to the Two Houses of Parliament. He charges them with Injustice and Murder, in the Case of this Prelate, as if nothing had been prov'd against him; who own'd himself, If the Charge be made good, he must be unworthy to live, &c. Read therefore his Tryal, and you will soon see how good it was made. Two Acts past together about this time, against which the Lord Clarendon, Mr. Echard and others, are perpetually declaiming; the one for continuing the Parliament, the other for attainting the Lord Strafford. As to that for continuing the Parliament, I wish Monsieur des Mairzeaux, instead of quoting a Saying of the Earl of Clarendon's upon it, It was to remove the Land-Marks, and to destroy the Foundation of the Kingdom; had prov'd to us, that the Foundation of the Kingdom was not

establiſh'd in the Legislature, and that the King and Parliament were not the Land-Marks: To ſay nothing of his Lordſhip's Huddle of Metaphors, and making a Land-Mark and a Foundation to be the very ſame Thing. I'm ſatisfy'd *Monſieur des Maizeaux* is as fully appriz'd as I am, of the Juſtneſs of the Parliament's Cauſe, from the Beginning of the Civil War to the End of it; and I muſt own, that I have had better Thoughts of their Cauſe, ſince I read the *grand* Rebellion and *Mr. Echard's* History, than I ever had before; for if it had been ſo bad as they repreſent it, there wou'd not have been ſo much need of Prevarication and Miſrepresentation, to put a good Face upon the Cauſe of their Enemies. I wonder therefore, that *Monſieur des Maizeaux* ſhou'd be ſurpris'd into an Encomium on the Sentiments of Lord *Clarendon*; and into a Saying in his Index, *Injuſtice done the King by the Parliament*, by the high Opinion he had of *Mr. Chillingworth's* Notions in every thing, as well in Politicks as in Argument. He himſelf acknowledges, p. 303. *The Truth is, the Commons, as well as the Lords, conceiv'd that their Laws and Liberties were invaded*: And thus nothing can be plainer, than that the Land-Marks had been removed before the continuing Act paſt, and the Foundation was deſtroy'd by *Villers, Laud* and *Strafford*, who had invaded the Laws and Liberties of the Nation. What is the Saying he quotes the better for being the Earl of *Clarendon's*, if there are other Sayings in History quite contrary to it? The Reader will perceive, that to ſet all ſuch Miſrepresentations right, thro' the Courſe of the History of the grand Rebellion, wou'd be a Labour greater than the History it ſelf; there being hardly an Event or a Reflection, which is entirely free from Biās and Prejudice, as I cou'd very eaſily prove, were I call'd upon, but am not
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so delighted with such Work, as to do it without Call. I have very often taken notice of the Authorities the Archdeacon makes use of, such as *Wagstaff, Heath, Symonds, Walker, Sanderson, Heylin, L'Estrange, Manley, Collier, Wharton and Dugdale*; Writers that were notorious for Bigotry, Partiality, Pedantry and Insolence: But above all, he supports his Fabrick with such Pillars as he can find in *Nalson*, the most insincere and arrogant Author that ever wrote on the Cavalier Side. He is not asham'd to name him, even after his Writings and his Memory had been justly condemn'd to Oblivion. Monsieur *des Maizeaux* has charg'd his *Nalson* with the grossest Falsities, and prov'd them upon him out of my Lord *Clarendon*. He represents the Members of the House of Commons in 1641, as a Faction, which made a Shew of having an Abhorrence to *treasonous Practices*; but, in reality, had *evil Intentions against the King, and black Designs in View*; which is so contrary to Truth, that the most frontless Libeller cannot but be asham'd of it, after he's convicted of the Falshood; yet, this is the *Nalson*, the Dr. *Nalson*, which the Archdeacon every where produces as his Voucher. Now hear my Lord *Clarendon*, on the side of that very Assembly, whom he himself calls the *grand Rebels*:
 "Tho' they were undevoted enough to the Court,
 "they had all imaginable Duty for the King,
 "and Affection to the Government; Persons of
 "Gravity and Wisdom, of great and plentiful
 "Fortunes." Mr. *Echard* leaves his Lordship on this Occasion, and joins himself with Dr. *Nalson*, as the better Authority: *They design'd many strange* P. 485.
Things, which could not be effected without great
Convulsions: They thought it necessary to retrench a
great Part of the King's Power, as that of making
War and Peace, the Militia, the naming of Officers
of Trust, and dispensing of Crown Revenues. My

P. 486.

Lord Clarendon, quite contrary to Archdeacon Echard, affirms, *They had no Mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom, or to make any considerable Alteration in the Government of Church or State.* Lord Clarendon said as above, they were Men of Wisdom and great Fortunes. The Archdeacon quite contrary to this, *They were Citizens and Lawyers never so much as heard of before, Men of the New Religion*; that is, all the Protestants in England who were for a farther Reformation, and coming nearer to the Purity of Primitive Christianity, were Men of the New Religion; and those Churchmen who were for Archbishop Laud's Altars, Bowings, Processions, Pictures, Crosses, Confessions, Fasts, Incenses, Tapers, Copes, Mitres, &c. were of the very same Old Religion, which was preach'd by St. Peter and St. Paul to both *Jews and Gentiles.* Is not this Author well read in *Ecclesiastical History*, and well qualify'd to teach it to others? These Things speak themselves, and render all Argument needless and impertinent. Of the same Kind is his Account of the Convocation 1640, which I animadverted upon in the First Volume, and have spoken of again in this; and notwithstanding he assures us, their Canons *underwent all the Scrutiny of the Laity*, were approv'd by the Judges and Lawyers, and were for the Strength and Ornament of the Church; the Lord Clarendon once more, quite contrary to the Archdeacon, affirms, *They enjoin'd Oaths out of Parliament, which certainly they could not do.* Where now is all the Scrutiny of the Laity? In a word, *they did many things, which, in the best of Times, might have been question'd.* Were those Things for the Strength and Ornament of the Church? The Confusion and Contradiction which we meet with in these Writers, are the natural Consequences of Insincerity and Partiality; and unavoidable

unavoidable, when Truth is not the Line by which Historians are directed, but *Side* and *Self* are the Measure of their History.

I never car'd to enter into the Controversy about the Guilt or Innocence of the Earl of *Strafford*. I am satisfy'd with the Currency of national Justice, and think it is hardly possible for an *English Parliament* to enter into a Conspiracy to destroy a Man, tho' that *Earl* intimates as much at his Tryal. The Character of him given us by the Archdeacon is so fulsome, that 'tis surfeiting. His Life and Actions are lost in it, if compar'd with the *Articles* and the Speeches upon them when he was try'd. *He march'd to the Scaffold*, says our Historian, *like a General in a Triumph*, over the Rights and Liberties of his Fellow Subjects, *and never so white a Soul return'd to its Maker*. How white it was may be seen by the good Counsel he gave his Master, to set up arbitrary Power in the room of Law and Liberty, and to seize the Persons and Properties of the most worthy Men in the Kingdom. The Flattery and the Cause of it is so visible, that if I was not so much us'd to the Weakness and Idleness of *these Men*, I should think it strange to meet with it in his History. He supported Archbishop *Land* in his Bigotry and Oppression, by his Interest and Authority. Another idle Story are we told by the Historian, which fully explains why he abuses the two Houses of Parliament, in Favour of this *attainted Earl*, whose Brother in Law *Denzil Hollis Esq*; wou'd have sav'd him, if he wou'd have been against the Church, but *he nobly refus'd it*, quoth the Archdeacon. He is so in love with *Strafford's* Character, that he loads it with a Confusion of Metaphors; sometimes *he is the Oracle of Delphos*, sometimes the *tall Cedar of the Wood*, sometimes a *General*, sometimes a *Machiavel*, and
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at last, when the Laws were executed upon him, *an Angel of Light*, the *whiteft Soul* in the Bosom of *Abraham*. To do still more Honour to the Memory of the Lord *Strafford*, he brings back *Archy* the King's Fool to Court, from whence he was banish'd four Years before, and stripp'd of his Fool's Coat, for bantering Archbishop *Laud* about the *Service Book* in *Scotland*. But he shews him now again at *Whitehall*, and having told us, how *Foreign Politicians* were scandaliz'd at the Execution of this Lord, he adds gravely, *the Wisdom of the King was not only reflected on abroad, but condemn'd at home by his own Fool Archy*; who, *says he*, did not know, whether the King was the greater Fool to grant it, *the Warrant for his Execution*, or the Parliament the greater Knaves to ask it. *Archy* might very well call the Parliament Names, when there was hardly any one at Court but set him the Example.

The Archdeacon takes most of his History here from the Earl of *Clarendon*; had he not thrown aside General *Ludlow's* Memoirs, he might have given us some Truth amongst so much *Eulogy*: But he scorns to make use of those Memoirs, tho' the Author was Knight of the Shire for the County of *Wilts*, when the Author of the *Grand Rebellion* was only Burgefs for *Wooton Bassett* in the said County of *Wilts*: He had all the great Qualifications which Mr. *Echard* informs us are necessary for an Historian, as Quality, Learning, Genius, Experience, Valour and Conduct; upon which of these he founds his own Claim to that Title, I am at a Loss to find out. General *Ludlow* was of as ancient a Family as Lord *Clarendon*, and a much better Fortune. He was a University Scholar, and commanded Armies, and governed the Kingdom of *Ireland*. He was a Man of Sense, and wrote as
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pure a narrative Stile as any one of his Contemporary Writers. Indeed the Richness of the Livery does not render his Coat cumbersome, as it is in other Histories. What then can be the Reason that Mr. *Echard* will not look into him? Is it because he differs from his Country-Man the Lord *Clarendon*, almost in every Thing? He wrote his Book in Exile, so did my Lord; only there was this Difference too between them; my Lord, when he came home, was made Great and Rich, and General *Ludlow*, when he went abroad, was proscrib'd and beggar'd; Sir *Edward Seymour* living in his fair Seat at *Maiden Bradley*. *Ludlow* very desirous of seeing *Old England* after near 30 Years Banishment, return'd privately about the Time of the *Revolution*, tho' he had no Reason to think so great a Crime as his would ever be forgotten or forgiven; so he was soon driven back again by an Address, for which Sir *Edward* made the Motion; and it could not but be some Whet to his Loyalty, that he had General *Ludlow's* House and Lands in his Possession. Mr. *Echard* can have no other Reason for despising that General's History, than his being a Commonwealth's Man; and your Commonwealth's Men, as he will tell you, can't speak Truth or Reason. What a fine Rule has Monsieur *Vertot* set down to direct History Writers! If the Earl of *Clarendon* had follow'd it, or the same judicious Method, we shou'd certainly have found one good Man in or out of the Parliament House on the same Side with *Ludlow*, the King's Death excepted; *I have distinguish'd*, says *Vertot*, *Error from Malice, and respected the great Parts and excellent Qualifications, which God as the Author of Nature had endowed such Persons with, as he had not led by his Grace into the Knowledge of his true Religion.* I hope many Men have more Charity to think all Papists to be as partial and inveterate as the *Landed* deans:

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deans: There are but some of them, and those the worst among them, that have any Likeness with the Self-Interest, Pride and Cruelty of that Set of Men.

To shew us how well he understands our Parliamentary Constitution, he declares, that the Commons of *England* had never any Power to controvert Elections, till this *Puritan* Parliament innovated it. *There was never any Precedent of their excluding Members on Account of false Elections*: He can teach Mr. *Jodrel* Parliamentary Precedents; and if I had not found the contrary in the Rolls of Parliament, I should have been afraid to touch him upon this Head, he speaks it so positively: The *Sir Symmons & Ewes* repeats this Resolution of the House of Commons, *temp. Regina Elizabethæ* in the Case between *Thomas Farmer Esq;* and *Sir Christopher Hoyden*.

Resolved,

“ That the House of Commons are the only
“ competent Judges, which are duly made, which
“ not.

And a Book of Precedents might be composed on this Subject.

This *Representative* being so heterodox, as to oppose *Episcopacy*, he endeavours to render them ridiculous, but unhappily becomes so himself by his awkward Raillery. He treats them as a Company of tumultuous, visionary Enthusiasts, ready to be imposed upon by the whistling of the Wind, or the Crack of a Board. When *Strafford* lay under Condemnation, and was plotting an Escape, *Sir Walter Earl*, one of the Managers against him discover'd another *Gunpowder Plot*, to blow up the House of Commons, and reported it to the House; upon which two fat Members getting up to hear what was the Matter, this made the Boards of the Floor crack; upon which *Sir John Wray* cry'd out, I

I smell

I smell Gunpowder. The Parliament Men ran into *Westminster-Hall* with their Hair standing an End. But some *Presbyterians* sneak'd away into the City by Water, had the Drums beat, and a Regiment of Train'd Bands marched as far as *Covent-Garden*, to defend the Parliament against the *Gunpowder Plotters*. He owns People made Sport and Pastime with it, but he thinks the Matter serious enough to be chronicled; and such Incidents as these are what he calls *Extraordinaries*, not to be met with in the *Common Writers*.

When the Historian mentions Bishop *Wren's* Impeachment for Innovations and Superstition, he affirms the House of Commons did it only to fix a Brand upon him; undeservedly to be sure; but he leaves it to the *Common Collectors* to tell you more of it, as if himself was in the best Sense an *Uncommon One*. One of these *Collectors* is the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, who writes thus. "The
 " House had a Report from their Committee of a
 " Charge against Dr. *Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, and he
 " was voted *unworthy and unfit* to hold or exer-
 " cise any Office in Church or Commonwealth; and
 " a Message was sent to the Lords to desire their
 " Concurrence in a Petition to the King, *that he*
 " *might be removed from his Place and Service*;
 " and he was committed to the Tower, and by few
 " pity'd." But *Echard* and *A. Wood* in Opposition to the Judgment of Lords and Commons, assure us, he was a Person of *singular Gravity, exemplary Piety, and prudent Government*. There is not among the antient Heathens such a loose Corruption of Piety, as we meet with in *these Men's* Writings; a Man may with them be pious and not charitable, pious and not humane, pious and not virtuous. They often joyn Piety and Cruelty together, Piety and Pride, Piety and Superstition. In a word, if a Man has but such a Habit, and such a Title; if
 he

he indulges the Insolence of certain Persons, and permits them to trouble and oppress their innocent Neighbours, he is grave, pious, prudent of course: I cannot make any Thing else of their Way of thinking and speaking.

That great Hater of *Secret History*, Archdeacon *Echard* very often, as I have more than once observ'd, publishes the deepest *Arcana* himself: As now, when *Goring* confess'd, that he and other Officers of the Army were in a *Plot* against the Parliament, long before the War was begun by setting up the *King's Standard*; when the Earl of *Holland*, a General Officer, wrote to the Earl of *Essex* from the Army, that *he found there had been strange Attempts to debauch and pervert the Soldiers*; when the Lord *Piercy* and *Fermyn* ran away upon the Discovery of the *Plot*: Mr. *Echard* very resolutely declares, it was only a *Sham Conspiracy*; notwithstanding he is countenanc'd in his Saying it, by the Lord *Clarendon* and others, the Falshood of it appears *prima facie*, from the Circumstances of the Discovery and its Consequences.

The unparallel'd Invasion of the Privileges of the House of Commons by King *Charles I.* in the Case of the *Five Members*, whom he would have fetch'd out by Force, is told with so much Prevarication and Tenderness, that one wou'd think there was no Harm done, if there had been no History but his own. He tells us the King was driven to this Attempt to seize them in the Parliament House, by his Wife, with this very shocking Expression, *Allez Poltron, &c. Go, ye Scoundrel, and pull those Rogues out by the Ears.* Here he introduces Queen *Henrietta Maria*, whose Marriage with King *Charles* he puts down as one of the Happineffes of this happy Reign, using the Language of a Market-Woman to the most *Blessed* of all the Monarchs of *England*. He then informs us, that the King went

as he was bid, but took no body with him, but his own usual Guard of some few Gentlemen of Quality, no doubt, who joyn'd themselves by the Way: Whitlock on the contrary assures us, he was guarded by his Pensioners, and follow'd by about 200 of his Courtiers and Soldiers of Fortune, most of them arm'd with Swords and Pistols. Our impartial Historian further informs us, that Digby offer'd to go with a select Company of Gentlemen, Quality all without Question, to the Place where the Five Members conceal'd themselves, and bring them away alive, or leave them dead on the Spot. Proper Work for the Gentlemen Bravo's in Italy: He wou'd murder them if they would not come at his Bidding; yet a Line or two before he had affirm'd: *They were afraid to venture themselves in their own Lodgings, where they knew no Man wou'd have presum'd to touch them.*

The next Passage is another of his Extraordinaries, as a Description of my Lord Mayor's Shew or the like wou'd be. "The King coming from Scotland on the 25th Day of November, 1641. was received at Moorfields by Sir Richard Gourney, Lord Mayor of London; a Man of singular Wisdom and Courage; of which by the Way this is the Top Instance in all his History; with all the Lustre and good Countenance, and all the Loyalty and Duty, that could possibly be shewn. He was conducted through the City with the utmost Splendor and Solemnity, and the greatest Acclamations of Joy that cou'd be, also magnificently feasted and entertained with such a Grandeur and excellent Management as ever was known. *If they do but set out a Dish of Meat, there is something more illustrious and sagacious in it than ever was known.* In Conclusion, his Majesty was attended by the whole City, and surrounded by the repeated Blessings of the People. How came he to lose all this good Will

Will in a Week or two's Time? Where were the Lustre and good Countenance, the Splendor and Solemnity, the Acclamations and Blessings, the Grandeur and Magnificence, every one of them the best that ever was known; when about a Month afterwards he came to Guildhall to make his Excuse about the Five Members? Mr. Ebbard confesses, he met with no cheerful Applause; it would have been a Wonder if he had. The whole City that so lately surrounded him with Shouts of Joy, flock'd together, says he, crying, Privilege of Parliament, Privilege of Parliament; at which his Majesty was much mortify'd. He then declares, that he was out as to the whole City; for only the wise and stout Lord-Mayor, and the richest of the Aldermen, were extremely Loyal; but the Scrub Aldermen and the Majority of the Common-Council, the poor sorry Fellows prevail'd to send a Petition to the King, in the Name of all the Citizens of London, for the Redress of Grievances, and what we could scarce have thought in such a Protestant Reign, complaining of Papists, &c.

P. 422.

That the Archdeacon might at once pass over all those Grievances, and render the People of England as abject Slaves, as those at Moscow or Morocco; He makes these Londoners to begin the War, which he calls a Rebellion, and my Lord Clarendon, The Grand Rebellion. The Five Members had Recourse to the Citizens for Protection, when they found their Persons were not safe in the House of Commons, and the Londoners accompanying them from the City to the Parliament, when they return'd thither, he affirms to make all sure, they sent a little Army with some Field Pieces, such as pop on the Water upon a Lord Mayor's Day. The Army were Citizens and Sailors in Boats and Barges, according to Whitlock's Account of them, p. 52.

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Our Historian is an admirable Politician: He said, the War may be dated from the Return of the Five Members; if so, why is he in such Astonishment at the Parliament's providing for their Safety? It would have been a very prudent Way of beginning a War, to remain unarmed, while the King's Party were secretly making what Provision they cou'd, and the Queen had carry'd the Crown Treasure to *Holland* for Arms, Ammunition, &c. of which he takes no Notice, insinuating, there was no Design in carrying off the State Jewels, and that the pawning them afterwards was meer Accident, *an Accidental Service to the King.*

One *Sandesford*, a Rascally Taylor, having call'd the great Earls of *Essex* and *Warwick* Traytors, and wish'd Mr. *Pym* and Sir *John Hotbham* hang'd; a small Fine was put upon him, he was whipp'd, pillory'd, and sent to the Work-House, *A Sentence, says Echard, more severe than ever had been pronounc'd in the Star-Chamber*; Not to repeat the Cruelties practis'd against Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, Dr. *Bastwick*, and the cruel Sentence against Mr. *Osbaldston*, a Man of great Learning and Worth, as appears by *Cowley's* Verses upon him; Have we not seen how the Reverend Dr. *Leighton*, the holy Archbishop of *Glasgow's* Father, was sentenc'd by Procurement of Archbishop *Laud*, General of the Court of Star-Chamber, degraded, pillory'd, whipp'd, Ears cut off, Nose slit, burnt in the Cheek like a Thief, fined 10000 *l.* and thrown to rot in a *Jail*? Yet according to the Archdeacon, *Sandesford* the Taylor was more severely used than Dr. *Leighton*. Need one say any Thing more of him or his History? Is not this sufficient to give a just Idea of the whole? He insinuates, that *Sandesford* was unjustly dealt with, but affirms, that Dr. *Leighton* deserv'd the Punishment

ment which was most barbarously inflicted upon him.

In p. 529. He assures us, the Parliament sold 500 Acres of Land for 100 *l.* about half a Years Purchase. Can any one desire a Remark upon that? if the bare telling it does not prove the Falshood, he shall go off clear for me.

We come now to name *Beginners of the War*, not the *Londoners*, but the two Houses of Parliament. We have mentioned his concealing, the Queen's going to *Holland* with the Crown Jewels to buy military Stores and raise Money upon them, long before the Parliament found themselves under a fatal Necessity of making contrary Provision; and when the Queen's Ship arriv'd, he affirms, it brought no Money; quite contrary to which is *Whitlock*: The King was furnished with Money from the Queen upon the Jewels. So much Falsity must be the Effect rather of Fatality than Error. For Historians who err *voluntarily*, will sometimes be in the right, to carry off what is wrong.

P. 537.

The Prelude to his Opening the War is a bright Instance of his wonted *After-Wit*; for speaking of *Hotbam's* shutting the King out of *Hull*, he very wisely declares, *it is justly believ'd, had the King with the Nobility and Gentry besieg'd Hull, he might have put a Period to the War.* But he forgets himself presently, and confesses, *Sir John Hotbam was better able to take York, than the King to recover Hull.*

Ever since the glorious Restoration, and especially ever since *Harley's* glorious Administration, the Cry of the Rabble and their Teachers has been *Faction, Sedition, Rebellion, Hypocrisy*, and the like. When a sober sincere Protestant has been in the Way, he is nicknam'd, sometimes a *Puritan*, sometimes a *Fanatick*, a *Republican*, a *Forty One Man*, &c. by the very Faction, who are visibly for running

running back to *Popery*, and have within these forty Years been guilty of three or four *Assassination* Plots, to murder the best of Princes, four or five *Rebellions* against them, as many *Invasions* to destroy their King and Country by Arms of foreign Mercenaries, *French* and *Spaniards*, besides *Riots*, *Tumults* and *Insurrections* innumerable. The Ferment is all owing to the Writings and Sermons of the *Pellings*, the *Hollingsworths*, the *Lesleys*, *Sacheverells*, *Higgins*, *Tr--ps*, &c. It is well known, the Divines in King *Charles I's* Reign, who opposed the wicked Practices of the *Laudæans*, were pious, serious, conscientious Christians; but on Account of that Opposition, and their declaring themselves against *Land's* Measures; as laying Taxes, levying Money, raising Arms, and the like, without Consent of Parliament, see how the Archdeacon represents them, p. 544. *The Wild-fire among the People was not so effectually kindled by the Breath of the Lords and Commons of England, as by the Mouth of their Clergy; who both administer'd Fuel, and blow'd the Coals in the Houses: These Men who before had driven out the most Learned from the Pulpits, and infus'd the most seditious Inclinations, now could contain themselves in no Bounds, but as freely inveigh'd against the Person of the King, as before against the worst Malignant, shamefully applying whatever had been declar'd by God or his Prophets against the most impious Kings, to excite the People against their Present Sovereign.*

The Author looks up boldly and tells us this, with as great Steadiness as if it had been true. Turn to *Dr. Calamy's Baxter's Life*, p. 49. and you will read as follows. *It has indeed been asserted, that it was Seditious Preachers, who stirred up the People, and were the Cause of all the Commotions, which is a NOTORIOUS FALSITY.* Here's a Charge upon him by a Religious Divine, whose Learning

and Knowledge of Things join'd with his Sincerity and Truth give Weight to his Words, which are weighty enough of themselves. *Ecchard* upbraids these preaching Ministers, with turning out their *Betters* and *Superiors*. He stands wonderfully on the Rank and Merit of the Men of his Side; and we shall find presently, that the Divines of the other Party were really those that were turn'd out, till Ignorance and Impiety became a sufficient Cause to eject them, which before was seldom done but for Piety and Scruple. *Dr. Calamy* again, *Many indeed there were who discover'd their Dislike of the Book of Sports, and Bowing to Altars, silencing Ministers, &c. and were glad that the Parliament attempted a Reformation; but very few even of these stirr'd up to War, being very fearful of the Consequences: This is certain, that whether they did so more or less, they were almost all of them Church of England Ministers, the Laws and Bishops having cast out Nonconformists.*

We have been hitherto oblig'd to concern ourselves much with Ecclesiastical Affairs, upon account of the Clergy's busying themselves so much with *Temporal*. The Opening of the *Civil War* will bring an Action of another Kind, and his History of it give like Occasion for Remark. 'Tis fit the Reader should know, that tho' *Laud, Wren, Neile, Harsnet*, and other such Bishops were perpetually preaching up and practising Persecution, were advancing Tyranny ecclesiastical and civil, and thrusting Religion out of our Church to make room for Habits and Ceremonies; there were a great Number of pious learned Prelates and Divines who groan'd under these Burdens, and pray'd heartily for the Peace of our *Israel*; who were for indulging Consciences truly scrupulous; and in order to promote Purity and Christian Union would have dropp'd every thing which look'd like Superstition,

and consented even to alter those Passages in the Church Service, which gave Offence to the *Puritans*. I really believe Mr. *Echard* does not think it capable of Alteration, and on my own Behalf I am not solicitous about it ; but Archbishop *Usher*, Bishop *Moreton*, Bishop *Davenant*, good Bishop *Hall*, and many also of the Reverend Inferiour Clergy would gladly have come into a Comprehension. When the Assembly of Divines sat, to consider of the State of Religion by Authority of Parliament, many of that venerable Synod, were in the like pious Disposition ; and it is a Matter of Lamentation, that the Arts and Obstinacy of Politicians and Bigots on both sides, should have hinder'd so necessary a Work.

Being come to the Fight at *Brentford* in November 1642, we are again instructed by some of the *Historian's After-Wit*: He is speaking of the Earl of *Essex's* Army of 24000 Men, and adds immediately ; *Many are of Opinion, that IF the King had briskly charg'd that unwieldy Army, it had presently given ground.* Quite contrary to this is Mr. *Whitlock* ; *Some of the King's Party confess'd, if the Parliament's Forces had fallen upon them, they had, in all Probability, wholly broken them.* Mr. *Whitlock*, who was a Man of Judgment, is justify'd in his *After-Wit*. By the *Unwieldiness* Mr. *Echard* means numbers of *Essex's* Army 24000 ; whereas the King's Forces were scarce 10000. Our *Historian's After-Wit* is the chief Part of his Political Reflexions, he has a Page full of it at the End of the Treaty of *Oxford*. " IF the King would
" have liberally distributed Offices and Places to
" particular Men, he might. Again, IF, at this
" Juncture, he had made the Earl of *Northumber-*
" *land* Lord Admiral, the King would have re-
" ceived Satisfaction in the Propositions of the
" Treaty, &c. Again, IF the Earl of *Essex* had
" made

“ made a Shew of moving towards Oxford, that
 “ City, and all the neighbouring Garrisons, had
 “ been quitted by the King’s Forces.” I have ob-
 serv’d in more Places than one, how the Lord
Clarendon and Mr. *Echard* represent the Men of
 their Side, the best bred, the best read, the wisest,
 the honestest, the *handsomest*, the *godliest*, in a word,
 the Superlative in every thing. As to their *Stoutness*,
 their being so often beaten, puts it out of Debate:
 As to their Wisdom, the Archdeacon renders it
 suspected by the Multiplicity of his IF’s; for it
 seems by him, they had never their Brains about
 them, but when the Business was over.

We have mention’d a Reflexion of the Histo-
 rian’s on the Ministers who fell in with the Par-
 liament; and what Dr. *Calamy* said to prove it
 false; he adds, p. 569. at this their Clergy sounded
their Trumpets louder to War than ever, if it was
possible, and they resolv’d that the Assembly of Di-
vines should now meet; sweetly insinuating, that so
 reverend and learned a Synod were all Trumpeters
 of Rebellion, tho’ he himself has probably no bet-
 ter Authority for it than *Hudibras*:

*When Pulpit-Drum Ecclesiastick,
 Was beat with Fist instead of a Stick.*

For I don’t take *Dugdale*, *Heath*, *Wagstaff*, and
 his best Historians, to be better Authority than
Butler. He glories mightily in the Opportunity
 which he thinks the Earl of *Clarendon* has help’d
 him to by calling this Assembly *Infamous*; which
 alone is sufficient to give one a just Idea of that
 Lord’s History. To insult them still more, he
 imagines he has done something, when he quotes
Whitlock speaking slightly of them, and adds
 to what he says, to express his inveterate Malice.
 Having mention’d the Great *Selden*’s expounding
 the

the Scripture from the *Original*, in Opposition to the *Parson's Pocket Bibles*, he puts in some good Words of his own. *Selden* wou'd totally silence these *Pretenders to Divinity*; which is not in *Whitlock's*, and cannot be in any Author of common Sense and common Modesty; for it cannot be conceiv'd, that in so great a Body of Men of a Profession, there must not be some who were more than *Pretenders to it*. The Archdeacon further affirms, there were but 15, of 10 Lords, 20 Gentlemen, and 120 Divines, who were not declar'd *Enemies to the Church*, except three Bishops, Dr. Featly, and Dr. Holdsworth. *Selden* was indeed too hard for the Ministers, and had they been a *Convocation*, instead of an *Assembly*, I doubt not his Success wou'd have been the same. His *History of Tithes* was answer'd by *Tillesley* of Oxford, *Montague* and *Nettles* of Cambridge, Dr. *Comber* and others; but for all that it remains a *History*, and the Lord knows what's become of the Answers. Mr. *Selden*, in his Preface, does not attack the Clergy, as he did the *Assembly of Divines* with *Greek* and *Hebrew*, but reproaches them with *Ignorance* and *Laziness*, as *A. Wood* says, and upbraids them with *having nothing to keep up their Credit, but Beard, Title and Habit*; and that their *Studies reach'd no farther than the Breviary, the Postil, and the Polyanthea*: And how much we may depend upon his Judgment, may be seen by the Character given of him by Foreigners, *The great Dictator of Learning of the English Nation*.

'Tis a happy Expression of the Archdeacon's, when he tells us, Archbishop *Ussher* was voted out of the *Assembly of Divines*, only because he was never in it.

What can be more pleasant, than to see him commend the *Cavalier Army* in *Cornwall* for their *Piety*? P. 573. speaking of their besieging *Bristol*,

A. D. 1643. he assures us, to shew their Dexterity and Courage, *The City was very, well prepar'd and supply'd with great Store of Provisions to endure a Siege*; but the *Presbyterians* being Cowards and silly Fellows, gave it up at demand. *Whitlock*, the very Reverse of *Echard* says, p. 67. *They fell upon it when it was worst provided for Resistance*: This Mistake is a Trifle among so many important ones, and is only mention'd as another Proof of the Vanity of the Author and his Party, who are every where extolling the Valour, as well as the Wisdom and Piety of the Royal Army; for which some may be apt to say they were alike remarkable.

Inconsistency is another Trifle in the Archdeacon's History, and it is hardly worth observing, that, p. 581. He assures us, King Charles the First always look'd upon the Irish Rebellion, as the most groundless, bloody and wicked: Yet, p. 16. *When the Rebels were brought to the last Gasps, he enter'd into a Treaty, and agreed to a Cessation of Arms with them for the Preservation of his Protestant Subjects*; upon which *Whitlock* informs us, *The Irish Rebels were sent to England*, p. 71. for the Preservation of the Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom. This is told us with grave Faces, as if it was History and not Farce. The English and Scots Parliaments declare bodily and warmly against this Cessation, but they knew nothing at all of the Matter: And Mr. *Echard* affirms, it was out of Peevishness, and to throw a most unreasonable Scandal on the Court; for, according to him, the whole Kingdom of Ireland would have been lost, if the King had not given Peace to the Popish Rebels. Here's Tale and Truth for you, and a Sentence that kills it self, as much as ever did any *Felo de se*. Mind what Condition those bloody Popish Rebels were in to conquer Ireland; I will not say, when the Eng-
lish

Irish and *Scots* Parliaments were vigorously arming against them, but when, as he informs us himself, the Treaty-maker Ormond, by his own powerful Sway made a glorious Stand, and with miraculous Success had restrain'd the Rage and Fury of the *Irish*. Nay, so scandalous was this Treaty, that, as we read in *Whitlock*, many of the Earl of Newcastle's royal Army laid down their Arms upon News p. 73. of it, and offer'd Composition to the Parliament. However, Mr. Echard stands by the *Irish* still, and ratifies the Treaty, declaring, the King and his poor Subjects Necessities requir'd it. You must know, he is a better Judge of it than the Estates of England and Scotland, and does not care what were the Consequences of it. The *English* Troops that were sent to England, by the Lord Ormond, with the *Irish*, refus'd to fight against their Fellow Protestants; and no sooner was this glorious Cessation concluded, but as *Whitlock* tells us, the p. 78. *Irish* Rebels renew'd their Murthers: Those that came over to England, committed horrid Rapes and Insolencies, great Spoils and Cruelties, and what they could not devour they set on Fire; as Sir William Brereton, who commanded in *Cheshire*, reported to the House of Commons; upon which Ormond, who made the Cessation, was impeach'd as a Traytor against the Three Kingdoms. *Whitlock* informs us, the Protestants in *Ireland* were so offended, and indeed enrag'd at the Treaty, that 20000 *English* and *Scots*, in the North of that Kingdom, enter'd into an Engagement to live and die together, in Opposition to the Cessation, which the Archdeacon declares was made to preserve them; but they, who were on the Spot, whose Throats were to be cut first, could not judge of their own Safety, so well as the Historian, or the excellent Author he copies from: He affirms, the King, from his Soul, desir'd to take Vengeance upon the *Irish* Rebels;

bels; and my Lord Clarendon too solemnly says as much. A sure Proof of it, was his sending for them over to make use of them against a Protestant Parliament and Protestant Army; but it pleas'd God, as *Whitlock* observes, p. 79. *That they never did any considerable Service, but were cut off, some in one Place, some in another: In all Places, the Vengeance of God follows blood-thirsty Men:* Not a word of this honest History in the *Arch-deacon's*; and why was it left out, but to leave no Blemish on a Cause, which was subscrib'd to at *Oxford* by 631 Doctors and Divines, just forty Years before the famous Decree was subscrib'd there, which was afterwards burnt, by Order of Parliament, with *Sacheverel's* Sermons?

When he mentions Mr. *Waller's* being condemn'd for the *Plot* which goes by his Name, he affirms, that he got off by bribing the Ministers who came to pray with him, p. 571. Will this bear Reflection?

1643. I said, in the first Volume, there wou'd be no End of it, if I should go about to compare his Relations of Facts in the Events of the War, which are almost always to the King's Advantage and the Glory of the Officers, with Mr. *Whitlock's* and others. Some I must take notice of, to prove the unparalled Partiality and Arrogance of *these Men*, who like the *French* at *Hockstet*, ran away like *Lions*.

A small Portion of Modesty and Discretion wou'd have prevented so much Boast amid so much Disgrace. Our Historian's Description of the first *Newbury* Fight disagrees with Mr. *Whitlock's*, and other good Accounts, in almost every Article.

Echard. *The King's Horse with a kind of Contempt charg'd with intrepid Fury, upon all Grounds of Inequality, and routed theirs, p. 582.*

Whitl. " The whole Body of the King's Army
 " possess'd the Town of *Newbury*: On their Right
 " Hand, they had the Advantage of a River, and
 " a Hill half a Mile from the Town, where they
 " planted their Ordnance; so that there was no
 " Passage to them, but with great Disadvantage:
 " *Mr. Echard affirms, the very contrary, The Par-*
 " *liament's Army had all the Advantage of Ground;*
 " yet, *Essex* finding his Soldiers full of Mettle,
 " and resolv'd to force their Way, he in Person
 " led them on, *first* charged the Enemy with his
 " own Regiment, and the Lord *Roberts's* Brigade
 " of Horse, got the Hill from them, pursu'd them
 " to *Newbury*, and out of the Town again. The
 " Fight lasted till 10 or 12 a-Clock at Night,
 " when the Enemy drew off, leaving *Essex* Master
 " of the Field, which he kept that Night, and
 " part of the next Day; when both Armies stood
 " in good Order for another Fight; but the King's
 " Forces drew off by Night, p. 70.

Echard. *The King's Army pursu'd them next Day*
with considerable Execution.

Whit. " *Essex* advanc'd from *Newbury* towards
 " *Reading* to refresh his Men, and no Enemy ap-
 " pear'd.

Echard. *Prince Rupert suffer'd Essex to pass*
without Impediment; that is, he did considerable
Execution in the Pursuit, at the same time, that he
let him go without meddling with him; but after-
wards fell upon him with Horse and Foot, put his
Rear into Disorder, and kill'd and took a great many
Prisoners.

Whitl. " No Enemy appear'd till within four
 " Miles of *Reading*, when a Party of the King's
 " Horse fired upon the Rear of *Essex*, who kill'd
 " 60 of them with the Loss of 8 Men; and the
 " King's Party retreating, the Parliament's Forces
 " took up their Quarters at *Reading*; to which
 " Place,

“ Place, the Lords and Commons sent a Committee, to congratulate him upon his Successes.

Echard. *He soon abandon'd Reading to the King's Forces, having sav'd himself there with the Cross of his Army and Canon.*

Whitl. “ The General, with the Lord Grey and Sir Philip Stapleton, went to London, and the Army remov'd to Windsor.

Echard. *Writers do not agree as to the Number of the Slain.*

Whitl. “ There were of the King's Party slain above 2000; of the Parliament's 500 only. *This is the Reason for saying, Writers do not agree.*

Echard. *The King had the Spoil of the Field.*

Whitl. “ The Parliament Soldiers had the Pillage.

Echard. *All these Advantages were exceedingly darken'd, by the Deaths of the Lords Sunderland, Caernarvon and Falkland.*

Whitl. “ The House of Commons, with their Speaker, went to Essex House, to congratulate the General's safe Return, and happy Success; and caus'd their Acknowledgment thereof, and of their Protection by him, (under God) to be enter'd in their Journal. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited upon him, and highly complimented him, as the Protector and Defender of their Lives and Fortunes, and of their Wives and Children.” Notwithstanding all those great Advantages, which the Historian assures us, the King had over him.

I have hardly met with one Instance, in all his Book of his agreeing with *Whitlock* and *Rushworth* in relating Battels, or any thing else, where a Misrepresentation would give Credit to the King's Cause,

Cause, or discredit to the *Parliament's*: He closes his Account of this Fight, with the Characters of those three Lords, copy'd after the Earl of *Clarendon*, whose Pictures have been sufficiently talk'd of already.

In p. 586. The Archdeacon, with his usual way of Reasoning, treats of the famous Covenant, and calls it that *fatal Engine*, which, under Pretence of Reformation, not only destroy'd the Hierarchy of the Church, and the Patrimony of the Church, but the supreme Head of the Church, the Person of the King, the very Thing that it covenanted to preserve; and when the whole Body of the *Presbyterian* Clergy remonstrated against the King's Tryal, they deliver'd it to be directly contrary to the solemn League and Covenant, from which they knew not any Power on Earth able to absolve them. Here this upright sincere Writer charges those *Presbyterians* with the Guilt of the very Thing, which they only of all Dissenters publickly and boldly oppos'd; and their Reason for it was the Obligation of that very Oath, which our Historian affirms, was the Death of the King; yet his Son, King *Charles* the Second, took it thrice in a more solemn Manner than ever any *Presbyterian* Parson took it once. Is it not pity, such a Writer as this, has not the Character of *universal Historiographer*, with a Prohibition to all Authors to corrupt History with Humanity and Truth?

I am now coming to King *Charles* the First's *Mongrel* Parliament at *Oxford*; he call'd it so himself, or I have learn'd too much Manners by Mr. *Echard's* Prefaces, to speak so disrespectfully of so renown'd a Convention. It consisted of the Lords and Commons who had deserted the Two Houses at *Westminster*, and could by no means be made a separate Parliament by a Writ only. However, the Historian does not treat them like *Deserters*,
he

he speaks very honourably of them, as the only Two Houses, the only Lords and Commons, the only Upper House and Lower House. I was satisfy'd before I came to this Event, I should meet with some Falshood in it : Accordingly, p. 596. he assures us, the Parliament at *Oxford* exceeded that at *Westminster* in Number ; which, p. 593. he said was 119 Commoners ; whereas *Whitlock* affirms, there were 280 Members at a Call of the House, besides 40 upon Duty and Service out of it. Here again is another of his *IF's* ; if the *Oxford Parliament*, instead of *Papers and Proposals*, had list'd themselves in the King's Army, they could not have fail'd of bringing the other Parliament and Army to better Terms by Blows.

In his Description of the Battel of *Marston Moor* are two remarkable Oddities ; one, that General *Leven* fled out of the Fight, and was taken ten Miles off by a *Constable* ; the other, that *Oliver* retir'd out of the Field in a cowardly Manner : The telling of this, tho' after another Writer, shews his Indiscretion in repeating what not one Soul in the World will believe.

It must be own'd, he could hardly help being misled in following the Cavalier Historians, whom he believes implicitly, and values as the most noble and most worthy Authors that ever put Pen to Paper. He informs us, an *eminent Writer* said upon Sir *William Waller's* leaving *Oxford* to follow the King, *A. D. 1644. The Mystery of Iniquity appear'd in its proper Colours, the Parliament pretended to make War to remove evil Counsellors ; and now the evil Counsellors are left at Oxford, and the King's Person pursu'd.* The Shallowness of these Historians is every where apparent. Did not the Fate of the *Counsellors* subsist in that of the King ? Was not the Cause the same, and the quickest way to put an End to it, to possess themselves

selves of the Person of the Principal? There's scarce one of these silly Reflections, but Mr. Eobard preserves with all the mean Sayings and familiar Expressions which he could light upon.

His Relation of the second Battel of *Newbury* is so false, compar'd with *Whitlock's*, that there's hardly one Incident, which is not misrepresented to cover the King's Disgrace in that Action. To enter into the Particulars of it would take up more Room than the Fight it self, and therefore I shall only observe; he affirms, p. 604. *neither Party was sorry 'twas Night. Whitl. p. 104. One Hour more Day-light, the King's whole Army had probably been routed and dispers'd. Echard. Many question'd who had the Advantage. He can't help it. Whitl. News came of a considerable Victory obtain'd over the King's Army, which retreated several Ways in great Confusion. Echard. Not above 100 of the King's Soldiers were kill'd in all Places. Whitl. Two hundred Soldiers of the King's Part were slain, and 300 taken, together with 1000 Arms, the King's own Coach, the General, the Earl of Forth's Coach with his Lady, &c. Echard. Of the King's Army were slain 3 Lieutenant Colonels. He says not a word of Colonel Goring, Mr. Mildmay, Major Trevillian, and several other Persons of Quality, as in Whitlock, but makes a poor and false Reflexion on the Parliament Army in this Battel. The Officers were of no better Families than the Soldiers: He means doubtless the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, Sir William Waller, Sir James Harrington, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Sir William Balfour, Colonel Cromwel, Colonel Devereux, Colonel Fortescue, Colonel Berkley, &c. Why did he not tell us, that among the Colours, which were taken by the Parliament's Soldiers at *Newbury*, there was a Standard which had the Figure of the Parliament House, with two Traytors Heads standing on the Top,*

Top, and this Motto under them, *Ut extra sic intra*, As great Rogues within as without? The true Cavalier Spirit not to be matched for Ribaldry, and Cruelty.

His Account of religious Matters this Year shews what a Notion he has of Superstition and Idolatry, and the proper Methods for preserving the Peace and Purity of the Church. *Infinite Disturbances and Distractions* were occasion'd by removing Organs, Rails, Surplices, Hoods, Copes, &c. the most scandalous Sort of Robberies and Sacrilege; and then he tells us of a Petition from London, to sigh out Sorrows for the Decay of the Power of Godliness; that is some of his Wit, and the Neglect of the Orthodox Ministry: But he does not mention another Petition from London, that Justice might be done against Delinquents, especially the two grand Incendiaries, the Bishops Laud and Wren.

Speaking of the Treaty which commenc'd after the King's Defeat at Marston Moor, Newbury, &c. he assures us, the Parliament's Commissioners were received by the King very obligingly. What need was there of this Prevarication? Does he not know, that what is done by the King's Ministers, is, in such Cases, done by himself? Whitlock, who was one of those Commissioners, says, Blake, Governor of Wallingford for the King, made them stay two Hours for an Answer, before he let them into the Town, and bullied them when they were there: That they had Difficulty to get into their Coaches after their Visit to him; and Sir Jacob Ashley, Governor of Oxford, made them stay four Hours in the wet and cold open Field, before he would send them an Answer to their safe Conduct. When they enter'd Oxford, the People revil'd them with the Name of Traytors, Rogues, Rebels, and threw Stones and Dirt into their Coaches. The King's Servants lodg'd them at a sorry Inn, little better

ter than an Alehouse ; and no Excuse was made for all this, tho' Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Whitlock* were so insulted in their Lodgings by some of the King's Officers, that they boldly did themselves justice, and disarm'd two of them. They order'd the *Inn* to be shut up, and sent to the Governor to have their safe Conduct ; upon which a Guard of Soldiers were posted at the Door. Who could imagine, the King himself would not behave obligingly, when the Commissioners came about a Treaty which himself had desir'd ? But what need was there to extol the Civilities these Gentlemen met with, after what had happen'd ; and the Treaty had like to have prov'd abortive, purely on the Score of Incivilities.

Some Traytors and Deserters being punish'd by the Parliament, he upbraids them with glutting themselves with the Blood of their Friends, and then harangues us on the Execution of the grand Victim *Laud*, to use his own Words. Too much has been said of this Prelate already ; and as he was in the Hands of the Lords and Commons, who pass an Ordinance to attaint him for the many Crimes mentioned in the Articles against him, I have not so good an Opinion of his Innocence, as to set my self in Opposition to their Judgment ; which Mr. *Echard* assures us, from a nameless Author, is hardly to be match'd in the *Ten Persecutions* ; and that the Malice of the Parliament exceeds the *Nero's*, the *Domitians*, the *Diocletians*, as the Innocence of Archbishop *Laud* exceeded that of the holy Primitive Martyrs, p. 608. If I were of his Cloth, whatever others have done, I would not repeat such Stuff, since there is not a Mortal breathing so dull as to be ignorant of the Cause of his repeating it : His Admiration of the Bishop's invincible Obstinacy for the Outfides of Religion, and the Power, Riches and Honours of

the Priesthood. He is conjuring again on this Occasion, and tells us, the House of Commons sent into the City privately for a Petition against him, which was brought down by one *Watkins*; so obscure a Wretch, that he has a Name no where but in his History.

I don't wonder he skips over the Tryal of his favourite Historian *Roger L'Estrange*, who, about the Time of the Archbishop's Death, was try'd for a *Spy*, and then first very narrowly escap'd the Gallows.

Mr. White, Chairman of the Committee for ejecting scandalous Ministers, dy'd this Year *distracted*, as *Mr. Echard* affirms. *Mr. Whitlock* says, he was an *honest, learned, and faithful Servant to the Publick*.

This is nothing; there were so many Clergymen turn'd out by him for *Immorality* and *Insufficiency*, that 'tis well he has not a Tail and a Cloven Foot in the Archdeacon's Picture.

Sir Edward Deering's Death is join'd with *Mr. White's*; and that Knight having been one of the first that call'd *Laud* to Account in Parliament for his various Innovations in Church and State, his Pride, Cruelty, &c. *Sir Edward's* deserting the Parliament afterwards cannot gain him the Favour of the Faction. *Mr. Echard* gives us his Word, that this *Kentish* Knight wanted to be made a Dean, and being refus'd the Deanry of *Canterbury*, turn'd again from the King. He will not let us know the Truth. *Sir Edward came from Oxford into the Parliament*, says *Whitlock*, and upon his Examination said, *Since the Cessation in Ireland, seeing so many Papists and Irish Rebels in the King's Army, the Anti-Parliament set up at Oxford, and the King's Counsels wholly governed by the Popish Party, his Conscience would not permit him to stay longer.* But the Archdeacon's Conscience will permit him to approve

prove of all those *Oxford Counsels*, and to speak of those very *Irish Rebels* as some of the King's best Friends; as Sir *Jacob Asbley*, one of the King's Generals, shew'd, by giving the Word *St. Patrick*, when he was routed at *Stow in the Would* by Colonel *Morgan*, A. D. 1645. And *Whitlock* informs us, one of the scandalous Ministers was ejected for praying for the Success of the *Papish Rebels* in *Ireland*, among other Enormities of which he was guilty.

The Historian coming to the *Treaty of Uxbridge*, conjures in almost every Paragraph, and turns the Two Houses of Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, and every Body that comes in his Way, inside outwards. He assures us, some were against the Treaty, because they were against the Peace; that the *Covenant* was made with a Design not to be understood; and the Thing, (a very pretty Expression,) call'd the *Directory*, had Terms in it which had no meaning at all. He opens this Treaty with a Falsity which deserves no Ceremony: *The King invested his Commissioners, or any Ten of them, with a full Power, not only to treat, but to conclude a Peace: The Two Houses invested theirs with a Power only to treat.* This is to shew the pious and peaceable Disposition of the one, and the rebellious malignant Spirit of the other. Directly contrary to which is Mr. *Whitlock*: *Several Commissioners of the Parliament did their utmost in separate Conferences with the King's Commissioners, to perswade them to comply a little more in the Article of the Militia; but were answer'd, We are bound up by our Instructions from the King, and can go no further.* We shall know suddenly what the Archdeacon means by impartial Men; and that it is those, that right or wrong, true or false, will implicitly believe every thing that's said on one Side only. The Debate was *Episcopacy* and its *Divine Right*,
M 2 which.

which Dr. *Stuart* asserted ; and that Bishops, such as Lord Chancellors, Lord Treasurers, Lord Presidents of Courts and Councils, Lord Privy-Seals, with Earldoms, Baronies, Spiritual Courts, and all Appurtenances, *had been accounted an Institution of Christ, by the most Learned of all Ages.* For if they would have treated of *Episcopacy*, as the most Learned and Reverend Archbishop *Ussher* treats of it in his *Reduction*, the Debate would soon have been at an End. Upon this extraordinary Argument of Dr. *Stuart's*, Mr. *Echard* describes *Impartiality*. *Impartial Men thought the King superior to the other, both in Argument and Genius.* As a Proof of this same *Superiority*, *Whitlock* tells us, Dr. *Stuart* argu'd frowardly ; a sure Sign of superior Reason. The Marquis of *Hertford*, one of the King's Commissioners, was so well pleas'd with it, that he desir'd to hear no more of the Doctor's *Jure Divino*, and I hope he was an *Impartial* Man.

Talking of the *Militia* Article, the Historian affirms, Sir *Edward Hyde* and Mr. *Whitlock* had *some Disputes*, but to no Effect. The Truth is this ; Sir *Edward Hyde* asserted positively, and according to *Whitlock* would have it taken for granted, as Dr. *Stuart* had done before in his Case, *That the whole Power of the Militia by Law, is in the King only.* Mr. *Whitlock*, on the other hand, offer'd to prove, *That the Law does not positively lodge that Power any where ;* but the Debate was laid aside ; both Parties thinking it would rather obstruct than expedite the Treaty.

It ought not to be forgotten, that Sir *Edward Hyde* justified the *Cessation* of Arms agreed upon with the *Popish* Rebels in *Ireland*, at *Uxbridge* ; and that the Parliament's Commissioners in their Reply, *laid home the Innocent Blood* shed by the *Irish* Rebels. The Justifier of this *Cessation* was
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the Author of the History of the *grand Rebellion*, which is more than enough to give one a faithful Idea of the Historian.

Nine of the limited Days of the Treaty past over, according to Mr. *Echard*; and again, *Nine more* P[611] *without any Advance on the Parliament Side, tho' much yielded on the other.* I beg the Reader to mind this particularly, and compare it with what one of the Parliament's Commissioners, Mr. *Whitlock*, tells us on this Subject, quite contrary to the Archdeacon's Account; *There could be no Expecta-* P. 28. *tion of a good Issue of the Treaty, or any Inducement for the Parliament to grant longer Time, when not one of their Propositions was granted by the King, during the whole Course of the Treaty.* Here the Historian quotes an IF of the Lord *Clarendon's*; and a Consequence of it, which neither his Lordship nor himself could determine. *If the King had yielded to all that was then propos'd, they would likewise have insisted upon all they had formerly demanded.* Fair Reasoning, as well as judicious! Probably they would have insisted upon what follows, the delivering up the wicked Instruments of that Male-Administration, which produced this unnatural and cruel War. These the Archdeacon calls the *most noble and loyal Persons* in the Nation.

It must be noted *en passant*, that *these Men* mean nothing by the Word *Loyal*, but an abject Submission to a tyrannical Government, when they have themselves a Share in the Tyranny; For since the glorious Reign of King *William* the Third, when Loyalty became only a dutiful Submission to the Laws, and our Kings and Queens have reign'd in the Hearts of the People, these very Men have been the most disobedient and disloyal. They were wonderfully loyal to *Villiers, Laud, Wentworth, Hyde, Osborn* and *Jefferies*, in the four preceding Reigns, when they were let loose against our Pro-

testant Brethren: But since their Hands have been ty'd up by good Statutes, how has their Loyalty distinguish'd it self in the Writings of *Lesley, Hicks, Sacheverel, Bedford, T---p, Bisse, &c.*

P. 612. To return to the *Uxbridge Treaty*. If the Parliament had not demanded to have wicked Ministers deliver'd up, they had done nothing; the same Causes will eternally have the same Effects. He cannot leave this Treaty without some Characters and *secret History*; Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Pembroke*, weak and cowardly; Earl of *Northumberland*, proud; Earl of *Denbigh*, ungrateful; Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Prideaux*, Spies; and the Leaders of the Parliament, a Pack of *Knaves and Rascals*. He must not imagine, 'tis an Excuse for foul Language, to repeat it after another, especially if there's any Likelihood that it was never said, which is the present Case. He affirms with his usual Positiveness, the King having publish'd a Declaration of the Proceedings of his Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, shewing that the Parliament never design'd a Peace, the Two Houses had not a Word to say against it. Quite opposite to this is what *Whitlock* tells us, A Declaration was order'd to be drawn up in Answer to the King's: Mr. *Whitlock* drew it, p. 130. and the Commissioners went to *Guildhall* to acquaint the City with the *Averseness of the King's Side to come to a Closure of the Peace*: In which probably the Interests and Preservation of the wicked Ministers before-mention'd prevail'd more than true Policy, considering the very great Distress the King and Royal Family were in.

In handling the *Uxbridge Treaty*, he has a Reflection, which is by no means to be omitted: The Learned and Ingenious Dr. *Welwood* in his *Memoirs* makes Mention of a sort of bullying Letter, written by *Montrofs* to the King during this Negotiation,

gotiation, wherein he promis'd to rout all the Armies of the Parliament with his Band of Mountaineers, and replace his Majesty on the Throne; which took so much with the Court and Council at Oxford, that they immediately put an End to the Treaty, and renew'd the War. *Montross's* Letter was so weak, and the Effects of it so fatal, that the Cavaliers are asham'd to own it. Archdeacon *Echard* cries, 'tis inconsistent with the Earl of Clarendon's Account, and the best Writers. And what then! The Earl of Clarendon's Account I can very easily prove to be inconsistent with *Whitlock's*, *Rushworth's*, *Ludlow's*, &c. And these are the best Writers; if he has no better than *Nelson*, *Dugdale*, *Heylin*, and whom he highly values, the famous *Heath*, which I know he has not. And yet he falls upon Dr. *Welwood*, as too ready to enquire and search into Secrets. He's terribly afraid of having the Royal Cabinet open'd: He will not let a Puritan peep in at the Keyhole, but he has himself a Master-Key in his Pocket. Dr. *Welwood* had many of his Facts from the Bishop of *Salisbury*, as his Lordship told me himself; and I think, this in particular; which agrees exactly with the *Rodomantado* Air in all the Royalists and Royal Historiographers.

They wou'd have had the Parliament's Commissioners come with Ropes about their Necks, and petition'd for Mercy at *Uxbridge*; which they would doubtless have met with in Abundance, when they had submitted to their Enemies. This puts me in Mind of a Story of two Writers of Farce, about 20 Years ago! They had mutually depreciated each others Merit, and the more brisk of the two demanded Satisfaction! The other lugg'd out, but fell backward; and his Adversary falling upon him, requir'd him to beg his Life; to which the other

even while he was under him, surlily reply'd, *Do you beg yours, and all is over.*

The *Cavaliers* thought the *modelling* the Army wou'd not be the better for them; and the Earl of *Essex* is on this Score spoken of very tenderly, when he was remov'd by the *Self-denying Ordinance*; yet even here too the Fact is misrepresented: He made no Haste to surrender his Commission, and express'd himself when he did it at a Conference, as not thinking himself well us'd, or that they would be the better for the Change: The Fact is thus. The Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester* and *Denbigh*, offer'd to lay down their Commissions together in the House of Lords; and my Lord *Essex*, at a Conference, deliver'd a Paper to this Effect. "That he having
" been employ'd for almost three Years past, as
" General of all the Parliament's Forces, which
" Charge he had endeavour'd to perform with all
" Fidelity and Sedulity; yet considering by the
" Ordinance lately brought up to the House of Peers,
" that it would be advantageous to the Publick,
" he desir'd to lay down his Commission, and
" freely to render it into the Hands of those from
" whom he received it." He said no more, and it is hard for any one, besides Mr. *Echard*, to find out the Reflection on his Successor, who, as we shall see presently, did very little deserve it. For the new Model, call'd, says *Echard*, the new Noddle, prov'd to be a bad Thing to be witty upon; but unless such Witticisms as that will pass, we must be contented with such History without any Wit at all.

If one was to form an Idea of the Historian's Quality, by insulting the Parliament and their Officers, he could not appear less than a Right Reverend or Right Honourable: He looks down on Generals and Admirals, and calls their Descent in Question, as soon as they have done beating any of his

his Lords and Gentlemen. A Man ought to be very sure of his own Worshipful Birth, before he insults other Men for theirs. And it cannot look decent for a plain M. A. to turn his *Excellency* into his *Oxcellency*, in the Person of the Earl of *Essex*, and Colonels into Coblers, in the Persons of some of the best Officers in the World. If they had not done their Business so well as they did, more Modesty wou'd have been becoming in a Man of his Profession; who must be a sad Novice in Heraldry, if he does not know, that a *Captain's Commission* makes as good a Gentleman, as a *Master's Gown*; and that a *Colonel* is as much a Man of Honour, as a *Doctor of Divinity*. The Writer is not pleading for Mr. *Echards Smiths* and *Shoemakers*, for that he wants such a Plea himself, but a little Knowledge will teach Men better, than to esteem or disesteem Persons for their Descent only: The *Ridiculum* lies in his giving himself that Air in a Station so inferior to those he insults.

What said an ingenious Author on this Subject? *Please to call to Mind the Men employ'd in publick Affairs by Cromwel? Was ever Government better serv'd than his! and yet he chose Men of the most private Condition, and one wou'd have thought most unqualify'd for publick Business, Taylors, Draymen, broken Shopkeepers, raw Scholars, and some few of the middling Gentry. What follows is one of the most useful Lessons in Politicks: It is a Branch of Eternal Truth, and whenever thro' short Views or private Interest, this Maxim is broken in upon, it is impossible to have Prosperity or Safety; but being careful to chuse Men principled against the Government of King Charles, and zealous for the Interest of the Government then on Foot, they did Wonders, and were awful to their Enemies; and this with all the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, both Church and Presbyterian, in perpetual Combinations and Conspiracies*

racies against them, and a War in Ireland, Scotland, and against Holland and Spain, upon their Hands. Most of the Men employ'd by Cromwel, had been bred in the Parliament's School; especially those to whom this Passage has Relation. I have elsewhere observ'd, it was for the Sake of such Reflections as these, that I undertook this Work, and therefore cannot look upon them as Digressions.

Mr. *Echard's New Noddle* was soon succeeded by the Rout at *Naseby*; so general and so fatal in its Consequence to the King's Cause, that the Historian cannot disguise it so much as other Defeats. However, he flings his *Doit* at the *Victors*, and assures us, the Parliamentarians *avoided no Manner of Cruelty*, killing 100 *Women*, some of which were Persons of Quality; but it seems they had no Names. Indeed *Whitlock* tells us, 100 *Irish Women*, and many other such Quality, were taken Prisoners. It must needs be fine Ladies, that wou'd be *Campers* in a Cavalier Army: This is excellent History. Most true it is, when the King took *Leicester*, a few Days before his Rout, his Soldiers cut the Throats of several Women, other Women and Children they turn'd naked into the Streets, and many they ravish'd, *Whitlock*, p. 144. The Barbarities of this Kind were so common in his Army, that Robbery and Rapes were hardly worth Complaint. How cou'd it be otherwise, when it was compos'd of the most profligate Wretches in the Nation, as to Morals and Manners; and they cou'd not be mended by Recruits of *Irish Papists*, who came reeking from the *Masacre* in that Kingdom, to act the same bloody Part in this. And tho' many of the Officers were Men of Quality, as *Goring*, *Greenvile*, *Wilmot*; they made too much a Jest of the Face of Religion in the Parliament Army, to encourage it in their

their own. Dr. Calamy informs us, who they were that took party with the Cavaliers, *such as were for Lewdness, Swearing, Gaming and Drinking.* The Ministers and People who were *against the strict Observation of the Lord's Day, and fond of Dancing and Recreation at those sacred Seasons; that plac'd all Religion in going to Church and hearing Common-Prayer; that were against serious Preaching, and for running down all those who were stricter than themselves: These adher'd all along to the King; and among these do we find the Lord Clarendon's and Mr. Echard's Men of Honour and Piety, the Heroes and the Saints.*

With other Papers of the King's, which were seiz'd at Naseby, was *Eikon Basilike*, if you'll believe our Historian; which Bishop Gauden wrote two or three Years after, if you'll believe that Bishop himself; and King Charles I. never wrote at all, if you'll believe his Son King James II. However, notwithstanding all this, and much more in many Volumes on the same Subject, the Archdeacon affirms the Genuineness of it is *incontested*; and he does it by a peculiar Happiness of Thought and Expression, that *contested Book is uncontestedly* prov'd to be the King's. The Business of *Nelson, Heath and L'Estrange*, is to assert and deny whatever they have a Mind to, and to stand out as long as their Foreheads will hold it.

The Story of *Sprigge* and his Spy, is so entirely secret and incredible, that it is strange to find it inoculated into Mr. Echard's History, made up of Records, and other Authenticks; but it is told us for the sake of the IF at the Tail of it. IF the King had receiv'd the intercepted Letter, *it is more than probable he had not been beaten*; and yet himself had inform'd us, that *Lilly, the Almanack-maker*, assur'd Mr. *Whitlock* before-hand, that it would be as it was: He is always the last Man in
the

the Field, and very loth to leave it to the Round-heads.

The Rout at *Naseby* was follow'd by the Desertion of the King's best Friends. Dr. *Williams*, Archbishop of *York*, had been imprison'd by the Parliament; and, when releas'd, he retir'd to *Oxford*, where he was one of his Majesty's most able Counsellors; But his Treatment was such as disgusted him to a very great degree; and quitting that Garrison he join'd General *Mitton*, who commanded for the Parliament in *North Wales*. Dr. *Calamy* tells us, he took Arms for the Parliament, but Mr. *Echard* does not tell us so; and Bishop *Hacket*, who wrote the Life of this Archbishop, says, he did not take Arms: He had Reason for what he said, having been Chaplain and Favourite to *Williams*. It would have been no great Recommendation to a Bishoprick to have mentioned the Rebellion of his Patron; but that he did rebel is sure enough, not because Dr. *Calamy*, who is a Presbyterian, tells us so, but because *A. Wood*, who hated Presbyterians, as much as Mr. *Echard* hates the Memory of *Hugh Peters*, writes thus, *Fast. p. 182.* "*Williams* being with much ado releas'd
 " out of the *Tower*, he retir'd to the King at *Oxford*,
 " where he provided himself with a Commission,
 " and Instructions what to do when he went farther. Afterwards he went into his own Country, repair'd his Castle of *Aberconway*, fortify'd
 " it, and spared not any Cost or Labour to make
 " it tenable for his Majesty's Service. Now for
 " the *Politicks and Temper of the Court and Council*
 " at *Oxon*: But then his Majesty and Privy-
 " Council suspecting that he would not be faithful to him, they put a Commander therein,
 " and in a manner thrust the Archbishop out;
 " whereupon, taking these Matters in high Disdain, he retir'd to his House at *Penryn*, which
 " he

“ he fortify’d, and having gain’d the Favour of
 “ the Parliament, put a Garrison therein, and de-
 “ clar’d for them. Afterwards obtaining some
 “ Forces from one *Thomas Mitton*, a Parliamen-
 “ tarian Colonel, he went forthwith and set upon
 “ *Aberconway* Castle, took it and kept it to his
 “ dying Day.” This was the latter End of 1645.
 where you may look long enough before you shall find
 it in *Echard*. Bishop *Hacket* and the Archdeacon’s
 Prevarication, with respect to Archbishop *Wil-*
liams’s taking Arms for the Parliament, is a wo-
 ful Instance of the Frailty of human Nature;
 which, for the serving a little paltry Interest, would
 deprive us of that invaluable blessing Truth. *A. Wood*
 tells us, the *Staunch* Churchmen call’d the Arch-
 bishop *perfidious Prelate*, *Shame of the Clergy*, *Apo-*
state, and the like.

We have another very likely Story in *Echard*,
 about the Marquis of *Worcester*, and *Ragland*
 Castle, to which the King retreated after the De-
 feat at *Naseby*. Several *Welsh* Gentlemen had, it
 seems, hinder’d the raising Forces for him in
Wales, which other Gentlemen had done all over
England more or less; and now that he was in
 low Circumstances, and so little able to protect
 his Followers, the *Welsh* Cavaliers would have had
 him hang up those Gentry; when General *Fairfax*
 had as many to hang by way of Reprizal, as the
 Cavaliers had Forces to oppose him; but King
Charles knew better than they, and let the Gen-
 tlemen go again; upon which the Marquis of
Worcester, so old, one would have thought that
 even *Welsh* Blood could not have made him angry,
shrewdly, quoth the Historian, cry’d out, *Sir, this*
forgiving Temper may chance to gain you the King-
dom of Heaven; but if ever you gain the Kingdom
of England by these Means, I’ll be your Bondman.
 There’s plenty of such wise Sayings in the *Chro-*
 nicle;

nicle; and the Author seems to affect to distinguish his History by them from that of the inferior Writers.

I agree with him, that the King's Letter to Prince Rupert has very remarkable Things in it; as, *If I had any Quarrel but the Defence of Religion. Again, As a Christian, I must tell you, God will not suffer his Cause to be overthrown. Again, I know my Obligations not to abandon God's Cause.* All in the Compass of 7 or 8 short Lines, which is all the Remark I shall make upon it.

King Charles was extremely mistaken in making of Lords, according to the Archdeacon, as in creating Sir Thomas Wentworth Baron Raby, a House belonging to Sir Henry Vane; and General Gerrard Baron Brandon, a Town belonging to Sir Thomas Glemham. A juster Observation would have been, that there was something of more Consequence necessary than disposing of Honours; when it was a Question, whether the Parliament would allow them or not, for their Forces were every where victorious; and the new Lord himself was soundly beaten a few Days after, at Roughton Heath near Chester.

Notice has been taken in several Places, of the Endeavours of the King's Party, not only to possess themselves of the Enemy's Artillery, and destroy them with their own Weapons, but to make themselves Masters of their Principles, their Religion, their Victories, &c. Thus Mr. Echard de-claims upon the Piety and Virtue of the Royalists, their Devotion and Zeal, their Valour and their Successes. At Uxbridge the King is for Peace; at London the Parliament says, he was averse to it. Great Clamour had been made about the Cessation of Arms in Ireland, and a Peace with the Popish Rebels. This stuck close, and it was not in the Power of Sophistry to wipe it off; therefore, that

honest Man *Nelson*, who had had 20 or 30 Years time to labour about it, is set to work; and Mr. *Richard* seriously vouches for him, that in a Corner of the Paper-Office, he found a Letter written by the Lord *Digby* to the *Popish* Lords and Gentlemen; wherein his Majesty tells them, *He will make no Concession in wrong to his Honour and Conscience; that it is in Defence of Religion principally for which he makes War; that how detestable soever the Parliamentary Rebels are to him, he will join with them, the Scots, or with any Protestants, rather than hazard that Religion, in and for which he will live and die.* I do verily believe, the Arch-deacon would take his Corporal Oath to the Truth of every Word, as much as if he had seen the King write the Letter; notwithstanding the many thousand *Irish*, to whom King *Charles* had made such Concessions, as to send for them over to *England*, and employ them against his Protestant Subjects here; notwithstanding the Lord *Ormond's* joining with them afterwards in *Ireland* by the King's Command; and notwithstanding the Letters taken in the Royal Cabinet at *Naseby*, Of his Intention to make a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels, and to have 40000 of them over into *England* to prosecute the War. *Whirlock*, p. 147.

In pag. 620. we have two very extraordinary IF's. The Historian has given us a lamentable Account of the King's Affairs, and that he had not above a Town or two left him in all *England*, except in the *West*. The Parliament, on the other hand, had veteran and victorious Armies in all Quarters of the Kingdom. However, IF the few Forces the King had in *Devonshire* and *Cornwal* had been commanded by Men, who had agreed better among themselves, they might have made a brave Stand, IF not turn'd the Scale. Why could he not have said, they might have fought, and

and been knock'd o' the Head, as their Fellows were at *Marston, Newbury, Naseby, Longport, &c.* At this very Time *Whitlock* says, p. 192. *Green-vile began to be contemptible in Cornwall, as Goring was in Devon.* These two Generals were two Monsters of Cruelty and Rapine, and no Cause was to like to prosper, where two such Men of Blood were engag'd in it. Our Historian is not sensible, that all the while he is crowning his Heroes with Lawrels, the People of *England* had them generally in Contempt. He hardly knows what he is about at this Juncture, and what has all along been doing. The Sword has been drawn almost four Years. The Decision of the Cause was left to Arms by both Parties: The one is subdued; and he is mightily surpriz'd, that the other will not for a good Word, give up every Thing they had been so long fighting for; which is express'd by them in an Answer to one of those most gracious Messages, spoken of by Mr. *Echard*. The Parliament say, *there had been no Delay on their Parts; but for the Personal Treaty desir'd by his Majesty, after so much innocent Blood shed in the War, by his Commands and Commissions; they conceive it cou'd not be convenient, till Satisfaction and Security were given to both Kingdoms.* This the Archdeacon calls *Obstinate*, and can't see the least Glympse of Reason in it. But much in what the King offers, when he could no longer carry on the War: *He would come to Whitehal, and let every Thing be as it was before the Rupture; against which he wonders any one could say a Word.* What Heads there be in the World?

In his Deaths and Burials this Year, we have a notable Distinction, two *Churchmen*, and two *Puritans*, who with him are of no Church at all; the *Churchmen* are Dr. *Featley* and Dr. *Baleconquall*; The first noted for deserting and betraying the *Assembly*

sembly of Divines, and the other for the Charge against him, as an *Incendiary*, given in by his Countrymen the *Scots*. The two Divines, who were not *Churchmen* but *Puritans*, are the learned Dr. *Twisse*, Minister of *Newbury*, and the famous Mr. *Dod*, Minister of *Fawsley* in *Northamptonshire*. Dr. *Twisse* was Chaplain to his present Majesty's Royal Grandmother the Queen of *Bobemia*; but he's no *Churchman* for all that with our Historian. Of Mr. *Dod*, he says himself, he was a most pious hospitable Man, highly valued by all good Men; yet he was a *Puritan* only, and no *Churchman*: What Sort of Men after this rate must his *Churchmen* be!

In Page 622, he mentions the infamous *Harry Martin*'s being restor'd and receiv'd into Favour by the Parliament, and misrepresents the Fact at the same Time that he presumes to call Names, as if Infamy was not due to such Misrepresentations. He tells us, Mr. *Martin* was expell'd the House for his Insolence to the Royal Family, and now restor'd by its Enemies. The Fact was two or three Years before: He was not expell'd the House, neither was he now restor'd. But as *Whitlock* says, p. 68. He was committed to the *Tower*, and shortly after re-admitted to his Place in Parliament.

The next Politicks we have from him in this desperate State of Affairs, are the Hopes they had from the *Scots* Pretensions to have a Right in their King. So they had without Doubt, and Possession of him too in a few Weeks after. What then? Was it of any Advantage to what he calls his Majesty's *sinking Cause*, or was the Parliament in any Manner of Apprehension of it, when they order'd the *Scots Protestation* to be burnt by the *Common Hangman*? What follows is some more of his *Politicks*, every whit as good as what went before: Cardinal

nal *Mazarine* grew afraid of the Parliament, and was about to do the King substantial *Service*. The Queen of *England* in *France* took the Business also in hand, and Monsieur *Montrevil* comes over with ample Powers in his Pocket; all which puts him in a very good Humour, and his Expectations are wonderfully enlarg'd upon Occasion of a Vow, which, he tells us, the King made, as it was attested by one good Witness *Gilbert Sheldon*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to give back to God's CHURCH all Impropropriations held by the Crown, and all Lands taken away from any Episcopal See, Cathedral or Collegiate Church. Mr. *Echard* is not ashamed to print this too, or from any Abbey or Religious House, and to hold them under such reasonable Fines, as shall be set down by Conscientious Persons. By Conscientious Persons, I conceive is to be understood Ecclesiasticks, who were to receive those Fines. He brags, that this Oath is to be had no where else, and I verily believe him; indeed it is a little strange to find it where it is; a small Stock of Discretion would have sunk it, had there been such a Thing in being, considering how the Puritans were always charging the King with favouring Papists and Popery; and plain it is, they had too much Reason for it without this Oath.

In Page 624, he informs us, That upon the King's getting out of *Oxford* with only Dr. *Hudson* an Ecclesiastical and a Temporal Guide also, together with Mr. *Ashburnham*, the Lords and Commons of *England* were so alarm'd, that they immediately caused the Drums to beat, and the Trumpets to sound, to make Proclamation, that whoever should harbour or conceal him, should dye without Mercy. According to his wise Way of thinking, the Parliament was more afraid of the King without an Army, than when he had several Armies

mies to establish that arbitrary Government against which they had taken Arms.

The King being in the Hands of the *Scots*, we have another Political IF, as odd and out of the Way as any of the rest. He borrows it from as great a Politician as himself, *Sir Edward Walker*. IF from the Month of May 1645, to the same Month this Year 1646, his Majesty had been successful in any one of his Undertakings, or had acted contrary to what he did; he had either been Master of all, or at least, had kept himself in a safe Condition much longer. Most of their History was made up of IF's and ANDs, till the Earl of *Clarendon* adorn'd it with Characters, and there is now Painting as well as Politicks.

Mr. *Echard* represents the King's going to the *Scots*, as an Effect of a French Man's Treaty with them. From whose Quarters at *Southam*, he was conducted by a Troop of their Horse to Lieutenant General *Lesley's*, and so brought to the General himself. This is for the Show of the Thing, for whereas in Reality, there is not a Word of it true, as *Whitlock* represents it, p. 209. General *Lesley* wrote to the Parliament. *They were astonish'd at the Providence of the King's coming to their Army, which was so private, that it was long ere they cou'd find him out.* Instead of being conducted, it appears by this, that he was sought for. 'Tis hard, one can't have the smallest Incident without Misrepresentation. The Reason of it; the Archdeacon's Account conducts the King thither in a Sort of Triumph: The *Scot's* Generals discover him concealing himself in a Tent. The Historian declares, there had been no Treaty between his Majesty and them; what does he call Monsieur *Montrevil's* Negotiation, which he very much enlarges upon? And speaking of that French-Man's Reception by the *Scots* at *Newcastle*, where they

wou'd not let him so much as see the King ; He adds, he shew'd a *brave Resentment*, and *sneak'd off*. His own Words are, *he left the Nation, and repair'd to Paris*, where his *brave Resentment* turned to *Grief*, of which he dy'd. This was the substantial Service to be done by *Mazarine*.

The King, now in the *Scot's Army*, would have had the same Company as in his own, if General *Leven's* Proclamation meant any thing, *That no Papists or Delinquents should be permitted to come to him* ; and his Majesty being prevail'd upon to order *Montross* to give over his Depredations, to disperse his Bands, and leave the Kingdom of *Scotland* in Peace ; Mr. *Echard*, who is wonderfully delighted with such Romantick Airs, tells us, the Lord *Montross* declar'd, he hop'd to force the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* to do their Duty : his own Words are, *those in whose Hands he was* : He who had been beaten lately by his own Countrymen, and fought always like a *Party-Man*, wou'd rout the *Scots Army*, and the *English* too, if they wou'd not do what the King wou'd have them. Instead of this Command of the King's to quit the Kingdom, *Whitlock* says, p. 221. *Montross Himself desir'd Liberty to go beyond Sea*. Is it impossible for *these Men* to speak Truth ? Indeed 'tis a long while since I expected it from them.

On the Surrender of *Oxford*, he tells us, the two Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, had Passes, and were visited by the Prince Elector, eldest Brother to them, and to her Serene Highness the Princess *Sophia*, Founder of the *Protestant Succession* in *England* ; but they receiv'd his Visit with Scorn. And why so ! because he wou'd not fight against the Parliament, and had paid Respect to the *Assembly of Divines*. He might have told us if he

wou'd, that these two Princes, after the Surrender, coming so near *London* as *Oatlands*, had Orders from the Parliament to be gone beyond Sea in 10 Days; and as scornful as they were, they wrote to them, *that they were sorry they had given them any Offence, and had no Intention to do it.* Upon which the Prince Elector had Leave to visit them, which 'tis very likely he wou'd have ask'd, to be receiv'd with Scorn. But this Prince was a Sort of a *Puritan*, and his being the eldest of the *Protestant Whittlock, Line*, will not gain him the more good Words in *p. 218.* such Histories.

The Archdeacon will not leave fighting as long as there's a Gun left to shoot with, and to come off *Bluff* at the End of the War, he has posted two old Men in two old Castles; the Marquis of *Worcester* in *Ragland*, a *Welsh* Castle, and the brave *John Arundel* in *Pendennis*, a *Cornish* Castle, which held out the longest Sieges against all the Parliament's Forces. He wou'd not or cou'd not observe, that those Forces cou'd easily have beaten those Castles about their Ears, but they were willing to save the Lives of the two old Men, and the Soldiers that were shut up with them. The War was over, and if their Heads had not been as hard as their Walls, they wou'd not have stood out, when they had no Body to stand by them.

I believe 'tis not expected, that a Word shou'd be said of the pretended Conferences between King *Charles* and Mr. *Henderson*, the *Scots* Minister at *Newcastle*; nor of the divine Character which they make Mr. *Henderson* give of that Prince. The Archdeacon owns, it has been *adjudg'd spurious*, but as much as he has search'd, he has not been able to find Authority for such an Assertion. Whoever reads it, after reading the History of this Reign, will need none. He further assures us, Mr. *Henderson* return'd to *Edinburgh*, so far con-

vinc'd and converted, that he had a deep Sense of the Mischief, of which *he had been the chief Author*, and on his Death-Bed desir'd the *Parliament of England*, to restore the King to his Royal Throne and Dignity. If we had not Proof that there is not a Word of Truth in it, the bare telling it confesses its Infirmary; but *Whitlock* assures us, *he broke his Heart*, because he cou'd not bring the King to sign the *Scots Covenanters Propositions*. *His Majesty*, cries *Echard*, *had just defeated this great Man Henderson*, by the Strength of his Arguments, when he was attack'd by *Bellievre*, the *French Ambassador*. Such Things as these relieve one under the Heaviness of so grave a History; and 'tis impossible not to be merry when we meet with them. But there's no Room for Mirth, when we come afterwards to his Description of the War, at the Conclusion of it, which he makes to be the Delivery of the King by the *Scots*, and their Return to *Scotland*. There is too much Truth in it, and it gives one Horror. The *Civil War* had continued near four Years and a half, with the Expence of many Millions of Money, above 200000 Lives, with the noblest Blood in the Kingdoms, the Ruin of Thousands of the most worthy Men and Families, and in short, with all the deplorable Miseries and Calamities, that had ever punished and tormented a sinful Nation. To whom were all these Calamities and Miseries owing? At their Doors let them lye and be an Example to all future Times, that the Fate of Nations may no more depend on the Power and Bigotry of Priests and Favourites, such as *Strafford* and *Laud*.

The *Scots* selling the King makes much Noise in the *Archdeacon's and other* such Chronicles. The Fact is thus, but you'll never meet with it in any Writings of theirs. There was a Million of Money

ney due to the *Scots* for Arrears, and other Charges, *Whitlock* p. 224. and they did not care to stir till they had Satisfaction, which was compounded at 400000 *l.* to be paid at certain Payments; so that instead of getting by the Bargain, they lost 600000 *l.* Mr. *Echard* intimates, that the Publisher of *Rusworth's* two last Volumes mollifies the Matter, which seems to need very little Mollification, if Mr. *Whitlock's* Account be true; tho' that Author, who was not *Rusworth*, but Major *Wildman*, was very well qualify'd to give us Information, being as deep in the Secret as Lord *Hollis*, or any other Collector of Memoirs. Bishop *Guthry* is one of Mr. *Echard's* authentick Memoir Writers; and a good Reason for it, is his saying, *there were 100 to one in Scotland against any Agreement with the English Parliament*, tho' a great Majority of the Estates, and the Assembly of *Scotland* voted for it, and that they wou'd not receive the King, even tho' he took the Covenant, unless he sign'd the *English Parliament's* Propositions.

The idle Story of Sir *Gilbert Talbot's* Negotiation with the *Venetians*, is, he tells us, a choice *M.S.* but it has lost all its Merit by being printed, for never Man went on so whimsical an Errand, and himself confesses, he was asham'd to speak of it to the *Doge*. It look'd very likely, that the State of *Venice* shou'd lend Money to the King, by whom they cou'd not get a Penny, to assist him against the Parliament, who were Masters of the Fleet and Trade of *England*, by whom something might be gotten.

We read in *Ludlow*, Vol. III. That King *Charles* sent to the Pope, as well as to the *Turk*, for Succours; Sir *Kenelm Digby* being his Envoy at *Rome*, as Sir — *Hyde* was at *Constantinople*, for those laudable Purposes. The same *Ludlow* informs us, that in the Letter which that Prince wrote to the Pope from *Madrid*, there was this or the like

Expression. *I will hazard my Life and Kingdom for Reunion with Popery.*

To this wise Project is ally'd that honest one of seizing all the *English* Merchants Effects in *Turkey*: But the *Grand Vizier* had not so much of the *Turk* in him as the *English* Agents, who solicited that monstrous Affair, for which one of them lost his Head. These two Negotiations are the Glory of his History, no where to be met with in the *Common Writers*; tho' I am asham'd to mention them, as being a Scandal to the *English* Name, both as to Policy and Honesty. He closes this Year with the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, and his Character copied from the Lord *Clarendon*, and mingles with it some *Vulgarisms*, as *Oxcellery* for *Excellency* before-mention'd, which discover something worse than a Poverty of Genius. I have often spoken of the Characters in the History of the *Grand Rebellion*, and as far as I cou'd, have done Justice to their Merit. But I take the Liberty to add here, that if every one of the Characters were still to be imagin'd, the History wou'd be the same; and when they are detach'd so from the Subject, they are like vicious Episodes in an *Epick* Poem. In History Mens Actions should mark the *Characters*: In Poetry the *Manners* and *Passions*. I know very well, that a hundred to one of all the Readers of the *Grand Rebellion* admire it most for those very Characters; and so they wou'd the Episode of *Nicky, Nacky*, in the Tragedy of *Venice Preserv'd*, and prefer it to the most moving Scene between *Jafair* and *Belvidera*. Mr. *Echard* by his copying them so slavishly, shews he knows no better himself, and provided there's a Picture, cares not whether 'tis like or not, whether 'tis in the right Place or the wrong. To excuse what I have said here and elsewhere of this Profusion of Characters, I must produce some good Authority; and I cannot
bring

bring a more unquestionable one, than the Learned and Polite Monsieur *Menage*, who is speaking of an *English* Historian of the XIIIth Century, *Matthew Paris*, whom he very much commends in most Things, and blames only for such Stories as the *Ghost* and the *Devil* in the *Archdeacon's* History; which, however, he imputes to the Barbarity of the Time. *Menagiana*, Vol. II. p. 93. *Matthieu Paris*, *Moins Anglois, est un bon Historien, à l'Exception des Visions & des Apparitions, &c.* Matthew Paris, an English Monk, is a good Historian, excepting the *Visions and Apparitions*, which his Book is full of; that is its weak Side; but at the Time he wrote, to report several Miracles, was as essential to History as it is now to omit them, unless they are generally known to all the World: In other Respects Matthew Paris is sincere and frank; and without taking a great deal of Pains in drawing Men's Characters, he gives you all the Ideas of them that are necessary to be given: This, in my Opinion, is preferable to an Affectation of continually drawing Characters, of which too great a number surfeits the Reader. It may be further said of these Characters, that when they are arbitrary, and are not born of the Subject, when they meet with no Actions to give Birth to them, but they are made whatever the Maker has a Mind to, as an Eulogy or Satyr, they are the most surfeiting, and no fine Painting can supply the Place of Likeness and Truth.

Mr. *Echard* takes great Pleasure in the Misunderstandings between the Parliament and Army, A. D. 1647. The Insolence of the Soldiers was the natural Result of Success and Peace, when Discipline was not so well understood as it is now. He takes hold of their wild Reasoning, and joins in with them when they bully their Masters. He cajoles them perhaps, because they permitted Dr.

Sheldon

Sheldon and *Dr. Morley* to attend the King, which the Parliament would not do; and his Majesty, tho' in so much Distress, never distinguish'd those Chaplains for his Service, who were recommended by Moderation and Charity.

The Army having impeach'd the *Eleven Members*, the Commons did not suspend them their House, alledging, there was no Proof of any Crimes. To this, says the Archdeacon, *the Officers sharply replied, that they could prove them guilty*: Their real Answer was, *Tho' they doubted not, if it might be done without Breach of Privilege, they could prove such Proceedings*; yet, *they were so tender of their Privileges of Parliament, they would forbear to press any further upon that Point*. Afterwards, when the *Eleven Members* withdrew, he assures us, their Charge was no further prosecuted, which is not true: The House agreeing to the Charge deliver'd by the Officers, they all left the Parliament, and three of them took Shipping for France; where *Sir Philip Stapleton* dy'd of the Plague, *in a Ditch*, says the Archdeacon. Some time after several of them petition'd for a Tryal; and after that again, the Parliament order'd them to give in their Answers, and assign'd them Council, *Mr. Chute, Mr. Glover, Mr. Prynne and Mr. Hales*, which looks very much like a Prosecution: Indeed, upon their Submission and Leave from the Parliament, who order'd them Passes, some of them went beyond Sea, and others to their Country Seats.

When the Two Houses divided, part going to the Army and part staying at *Westminster*, he follows those Authors that would render the Army Members contemptible; and therefore increases the Numbers of the *Westminster* Members, tho' they were to a Man *Presbyterians, the Independents*, and other Subdivisions joining with the
Army.

Army. We have observ'd before, that when the Army permitted Dr. *Sheldon* and Dr. *Morley* to come to the King, they found favour in his Sight; but now that the Soldiery seem to look another way, the *Presbyterians* have that Share of his Benevolence. One would never set up for a Politician, if one cou'd not better disguise one's Politicks. It is no new Thing for the Historian to carry his Point and Figures, by the more or the less of his Party. *Whitlock* says, *some Members* only appear'd at *Westminster*. *Echard* affirms, they came in *as full Numbers* as they us'd to meet, being 140 Commons. With the Army he tells us, were 10 Lords and 50 Commons. *Whitlock* makes them 14 Lords and 100 Commons. The Archdeacon adds, the major Part still remain'd at *Westminster*: By this Account, there must be, when they were all together, 30 Lords in the Upper House, and 240 Commons at least in the Lower. These, p. 650. he makes above 350 Members; tho', p. 592. they are stil'd in one of the Royal Declarations, *A Handful of desperate Persons*. I have said already, that Mr. *Echard* in another Place assures us, the King's *Life-Guard* had as good Estates as this *House of Commons*, which did not usually consist of above 100 Members, and not above 12 or 13 Lords. A small Number indeed, and I have known as many made in a Day, to the immortal Honour of the Makers.

I should not have taken notice of such Errors as these, was it not to shew how partial they are, even in the most minute Things, as Figures, and sometimes Dates and Days, if they fancy it is of the least Advantage to them in Interest or Credit. Thus, when General *Fairfax* march'd to London, Mr. *Echard* informs us, he reduc'd that City; which, however assur'd him before he came, *That they would join with him, and all Parts should*
be

be open to him. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him at *Hyde Park*. The Common Council stood to salute him at *Charing Cross*, and the General turn'd down to Westminster to take his Seat in Parliament. The Archdeacon adds, the Soldiers wore Lawrels in their Hats by way of *Triumph*. Had the City, that *Sink of Sedition*, as he terms it, been given to them to plunder, he could not have been in a much better Humour. Those Lawrels were worn only as a Token of Peace between the Army, the Parliament, and the City. The Authors he copies after, crown their Histories with such paltry Incidents. They had few Opportunities of knowing what was done in the World. They had other things in their Heads to think of than Affairs of State. They had been four or five Years in a War against the Parliament. Their Lives and Fortunes were at the Mercy of the Conquerors, and they could not know what was done in the Corners where they conceal'd themselves, unless they took their Accounts from those that wrote as well as fought against them. Yet Mr. *Echard* will not make use of *Whitlock* and *Rusworth*, who were in the Depth of the Parliament's Counsels, nor of General *Ludlow* who commanded their Armies; but he will be guided by *Dugdale*, *Heath*, *Heylin*, and other such notable Historians, who could not but have abundance of Opportunities of knowing what the Parliament were doing; when it was as much as their Necks were worth to be seen within their Jurisdiction. By comparing Notes with one another after the Restoration, they might know how it fared with them in their several Places of Refuge during the several Usurpations, and they might have put that together well enough, if they would. But as to the Causes and Springs of Action and Counsel at *Westminster*, from the Year 1646 to the Year 1660, they

they were at Liberty to give them what turn they pleas'd, having no Knowledge of any thing but by Hearsay, which is generally both lame and blind.

As paltry as the Incidents are in the Archdeacon's, and other such Histories, they are as much misrepresented as if they were of Importance; and when they have a Mind to shine out, they pun; as Mr. Echard, who informs us his *Excellency* was made *still* more *excellent*, the *General* being voted *Generalissimo*. Can any thing in Wit be more exquisite? Rare Patterns these for Historians, if their Works were to survive them.

At Hampton-Court the King again recover'd *Eikon Basilike*. The Archdeacon intimates as much of it as was then written, which *Prynne* read over, it is said, very seriously; and Major *Huntington* was converted by hearing it, to the *Royal Cause*. This would have been all very good History, if the Book had been in being at that Time, or if it had been written by the King at any Time. The Reverend Dr. *Walker*, a pious Minister of the Church of *England*, invoking the Great God, the *Searcher of Hearts*, *Avenger of Falshood*, and *Revealer of Secrets*, to witness to the Truth of what he declares in a Treatise, entitul'd, *A true Account of the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, has these solemn Expressions. *I know and believe the Book was written by Dr. Gauden, except two Chapters by Dr. Dupa. Dr. Gauden acquainted me with his Design, shew'd me the Heads of several Chapters, and some of the Discourses, &c. Some time after the King's Death, I ask'd him whether his Majesty had ever seen the Book? He reply'd, I know it certainly no more than you, but I us'd my best Endeavours that he might; for I deliver'd a Copy of it to the Marquis of Hertford, when he went to the Treaty of the Isle of Wight. It appears by the Bishop's Account,*
that

that King Charles did not only not write, but he had not seen the Book when Major *Huntington* was converted by it. Again, *After the Restoration*, says Dr. *Walker*, *I ask'd Bishop Gauden, whether King Charles II. knew that he wrote it?* The Bishop answer'd, *That the King never express'd it; but the Duke of York spoke of it to him, and own'd it as a seasonable and acceptable Service.* Dr. *Gauden* deliver'd the Book to Dr. *Walker* with his own Hand, and he carry'd it to the Press. This is sufficient to convince any reasonable Man, that Bishop *Gauden*, who own'd the Book, wrote it; and that Dr. *Walker*, who read it in Manuscript, and deliver'd it to be printed, is the best Evidence for it. However, let us add another Witness, a Noble Lord who wrote the Preface to *Whitlock*, and this Memorandum.

King Charles II. and the Duke of York, did both in the last Session of Parliament 1675, when I shew'd them in the Lords House the written Copy of Eikon Basilike, wherein are some Corrections and Alterations written with the late King Charles the First's own Hand, assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden; which I here insert for the undeceiving others in this Point, by attesting so much under my Hand.

ANGLESEY.

Against the Testimony of Two Kings, an Earl, a Bishop, and a Doctor of Divinity, you have Mr. *Echard*, who affirms positively the Book is *incontestably* his Majesty's: He is supported in his Affirmation by these admirable Authors, *Hollingworth*, *Dugdale*, and the Evidence of one *Brattle*, who were all easily answer'd by Dr. *Walker*. As to his *Wagstaffe*, I never saw his Works, and I believe never shall; so I leave him to the Archdeacon to make

make the most of him. I have, in another Place, desir'd the Reader to distinguish for me, between *Dugdale* Author of the *Baronage*, *Warwickshire*, and the *Monasticon*; notwithstanding Bishop *Stillingfleet* charges him with printing forg'd Charters; and *Dugdale* Author of the *Short View of the Troubles*; for tho' they are the same Person, I have as great Regard for the Antiquary, as I have Disregard for the Historian, whose View of the Troubles is equally partial and imperfect.

The Recovering of this Book at *Hampton-Court*, says Mr. *Echard*, was a great Comfort to the King, p. 638. who never saw it till a Year after, when the Marquis of *Hertford* shew'd it him in the Isle of *Wight*. Other Writers have said as much, as Dr. *Walker* to the same Purpose, but there being no need of any other, I omit what they say, and have done with this Subject; about which they make so much ado for Reasons too obvious to be repeated. The noble and learned Author of the *Characteristicks* says enough of it: *It cannot be doubted but this pious Discourse ascrib'd to King Charles I. contributed, in great measure, to his glorious and never-fading Titles of Saint and Martyr. Soliloqui.* The Archdeacon acknowledges, that the Earl of *Clarendon* makes no mention of this contested incontestable Book; which doubtless he would have done for the the Honour of the Cause, which had been crown'd with Martyrdom, if he had believ'd King *Charles* wrote it. Contrary to this, that Lord himself, in a Letter to Bishop *Gauden* who did write it, has these Expressions: *The Particular you mention has been imparted to me as a Secret; I am sorry I ever knew it; and when it ceases to be a Secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton. Life of Milt.* Instead of insisting on the Merit of this Book, for which Bishop *Gauden* puts in so very fair, I could have recommended something said by

by K. Charles I. when he was in Confinement, that expresses his Fall, and his miserable Condition, in the most lively and affecting Manner. 'Tis a Verse of Ovid which he was wont to repeat.
Menag.

Qui decumbit Humi, non habet unde cadat.
Fall'n to the Ground, I can no lower fall.

But those who write History, and content themselves with the Report of such Strippings as young *Tborowgood*, seldom light upon Things which are really curious and memorable.

At *Hampton-Court* was another Book recover'd also, Sir *Edward Walker's* Chronicle, which valuable Piece was exported and consign'd to Sir *Edward Hyde* in *France*, who took from him the most important Passages for the Years 1644 and 1645.

If our Historian could give us any better Satisfaction, concerning *Huntington's* carrying *Eikon Basilike* to the King, one would have a better Opinion of that converted Officer's *Secret History*, about *Ireton's* and *Cromwel's* Dealings with the King; but as it appears in the Archdeacon's Chronicle, 'tis all of a Piece, and alike incredible. He backs this Piece of *Secret History* with another, told him by private Hands; and is discover'd like the Unravelling of Plots by ordinary Playwrights, the Dropping of a Letter. Certain it is, *Cromwel* and *Ireton* were subtle Fellows, and imposed on the King's Agents who negotiated with them; and might easily have imagin'd, that two Men who governed the Army, who governed the Parliament, had other Designs in their Noddles, than what they communicated to them. The King found it so in Fact, and thought fit to make his Escape from *Hampton-Court*, leaving behind him Letters importing,

Echard.

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Echard. That the Reason of his Removal was an Apprehension, that some desperate Persons design'd to assassinate him, &c.

*Whitl. "That Liberty, the Thing now pretend-
"ed and aim'd at, was as necessary for Kings as any
"other. That he had a long Time endur'd Cap-
"tivity and Restraint, hoping it might tend to
"the Settlement of a good Peace; but finding the
"contrary, he had withdrawn himself.*

The Parliament having sent four Bills to his Majesty to sign, he refus'd them, and their Commissioners return'd from the Isle of *Wight* to *London*, at the latter End of *December*. On the 29th, Captain *Burley* order'd a Drum to beat in *Newport* to raise the Islanders, seize *Carisbrook Castle*, and rescue the King; which occasion'd Colonel *Hammond* the Governor to remove some that were about him, and to appoint a strong Guard to restrain any Persons from going to him. Then follows in Mr. *Echard* the Discourse between the King and *Hammond*: The King ask'd, *whether the Commissioners were acquainted with this Proceeding?* The Governor answer'd, *They were not, but that he had an Order from the Parliament to do thus; and that he plainly saw by his Answer to the Parliament's Bills, that he acted by other Counsels than stood with the Good of the Kingdom.* This strange Proceeding, continues *Echard*, put the Island into a *High Mutiny*. Would one think, that the Mutiny had been ten Days before, upon the going off of the Parliament's Commissioners, which he misrepresents, as occasion'd by the Removal of the King's Servants? And the Governor himself intimated to the King, that the *Mutiny* was the Reason of the Change of his Conduct. The Discourse between them, not being as above out of *Echard*, but as follows out of *Whitlock*: The King ask'd him, *P. 288; whether the Commissioners were privy to this Order?*

He said, No. The King demanded, *By what Authority he did it?* He reply'd, *By the Authority of the Two Houses of Parliament, and that he supposed his Majesty was not ignorant of the Cause of doing it.* Can any thing be plainer than that an Insurrection to rescue him, was the Cause of greater Restraint put upon access to him? But *Echard* assures us, that *Restraint* was the Cause of the *Insurrection*; which, with the same Veracity and Probability, he tells us, was suppress'd by the *Diligence of the King's Servants*: But the poor Gentleman, the unfortunate Captain, of a good Family; they engross all the good Families, and a Man can't be hang'd on their Side, but he's ennobled. He was condemn'd by the infamous Judge *Wild*, a Term very well becoming to reverend an Historian.

The King's rejecting the *Four Bills* was highly provoking to the Parliament, and every Man's Mouth was open, says the Archdeacon; *hitherto none had mention'd the King's Person without Duty and Respect*. How exactly this agrees with what

he had told us before of the infamous *Harry Martin's* Speech: *It is better one Family should be destroy'd than many.* Sir *Nevil Poole* moving that he should explain himself, *Martin* boldly answer'd,

P. 580. *The King and his Children.* Several Speeches were made upon the King's refusing the *Bills*, with the utmost Sawciness, says he, but one must not take his Word for it, especially as to what he affirms of *Sir Thomas Wroth* of *Somersetshire*, p. 580. One *Wroth* proposed to have the King closely kept till he be brought to Judgment; adding, it was equal to him what kind of Government they settled, provided they admitted neither Kings nor Devils. He took hold of the Character of this *Sir Thomas Wroth*, to put such Words in his Mouth. That Knight was a zealous Covenanter, and not very remarkable for the Excellence of his Genius; but what he

he says of him is another Sentence, which executes it self much better than the Treaty of *Utrecht* did. It needs no Remark.

I am very far from approving all the ill Steps taken by the Leaders of the Parliament and Army after the Vote for *Non-Addresses*; and think his Majesty's Letter from the Isle of *Wight*, p. 281. enough to have given Satisfaction to such as wish best to the Protestant Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject. But how would the Churchmen of Archbishop *Laud* and Archdeacon *Echard*'s Stamp have been then satisfy'd? For the King declar'd himself willing, it be provided, *that particular Bishops perform the several Duties of their Callings, by their personal Residence and frequent Preaching, and to exercise no Act of Jurisdiction or Ordination without Consent of their Presbyters; and will consent that their Powers in all Things be so limited, that they be not grievous to the tender Consciences of others.* He agreed also to place the Militia in the Two Houses, as long as he liv'd, &c. The rejecting of these Concessions was owing to the Artifices of the deceitful *Cromwel*, whose ambitious Views had no Bounds, but that of a boundless Tyranny in his own Person. All that follows of the History to the Death of that Usurper, is the Effect of his Policy or Power.

The Declaration put out by the Parliament, to justify their Vote of *Non-Addresses*, is mentioned by the Archdeacon; who wonders how they had the Impudence to charge the King, "With sending *English* Ships against *Rochelle*, and hiring
" *German* Horse to be brought over into *England*,
" with raising Money by *Loans*, *Privy-Seals*, *Coat*
" *and Conduct* Money, *Patents*, *Monopolies*, *Ship-*
" *money*; with torturing of Mens Bodies, by
" Whipping, Slitting of Noses, Cutting off Ears,
" Branding of Cheeks, Pillories, Fines, and Im-
" prisonments;

"prisonments; with lording it over Souls by
 "Oaths *Ex Officio*, *Excommunications*, *Ceremonies*,
 "Articles, *New Canons*; with writing Letters to
 "the Pope; with charging Members of Parlia-
 "ment with Treason; and an unparallell'd way of
 "coming to the House; with signing a Commission
 "of *Array*, &c." I dare not repeat the rest, tho'
 in the *Declaration*; but as for what is repeated, our
 huge Historiographer, as if no such Things had
 been ever done, cries out, *The Swarm of Little
 Libellers have copy'd this*. He can't be call'd a
Little Libeller, because his History is already run
 up to Three Volumes in *Folio*; but if to abuse the
 best of Men and best of Things, gives a Writer
 a Title to such a Character, these two small Vo-
 lumes will shew what a Claim he has to it. I never
 saw a Man strut so much, unless it was upon a
 Stage; but this is not the only Place where he
 imposes himself upon us for some body.

He opens his *Tear of Darknes* 1648, with a
 Pareel of Words, which would frighten Children
 like *Raw-head and Bloody-bones*, and make foolish
 Women miscarry; a *Tear of Darknes and Infamy*;
 a Year of Infamy and Darknes, *labouring under a
 Complication of all sorts of Nuisances and Misfortunes*,
such as Tempests, Floods, Earthquakes, Plagues, Pe-
stilences, and Famines; a *Tear curs'd with all the ill*
Seasons of Weather. If you'll allow that Lilly
 the *Almanack-maker*, had any Correspondence with
 the Stars, or any House among the twelve Houses,
 the heavenly Constellations; if you'll allow, I say,
 that Lilly was a greater Conjuror than the Arch-
 deacon, then every Word of that is false; for he
 does not say in his *Almanack*, that the Seasons
 were turn'd up and down, or that the Weather was
 worse than it us'd to be all the Year round. Again,
A Tear curs'd with Blood and Confusion, and with
the deepest Villanies and Treasons. He forgot, that
 it

it was a Year which gave Peace to *Christendom* by the Treaty of *Westphalia*, after a War which had lasted half a *Century*. To what does he refer, when he curses it with *Blood* and *Confusion*? To the Insurrection in *Wales* by *Pogor* and *Langborn*; or the Seizing of *Carlisle* by *Musgrave* and *Langdale*; or the Invasion of the Kingdom by the *Scots*; or the Riots at *Canterbury*, *Colechester*, &c. or that in *Moorfields*, where the *London-Prentices* began with *Tippling* and *Gaming* on a *Sunday*; and cry'd out, *God and King Charles*? To excuse this *Gaming* and *Tippling* on the *Lord's Day*, the Archdeacon tells us, *it had been a Custom*, thank the *Book of Sports* for that. He makes their Number so formidable, that he is forc'd to bring some Regiments of Horse and Foot to suppress them; which, *Whitlock* assures us, was done by a *small Party*. This noble Author, instead of the dismal Harangue of the Archdeacon, reflects upon it soberly and justly. "We
 " may take notice of the Incertainty of worldly
 " Affairs; when the Parliament and Army had
 " subdu'd their common Enemy, then they quar-
 " rell'd among themselves, the Army against the
 " Parliament; they were pretty well pieced to-
 " gether again, and then the Rabble form Muti-
 " nies and Riots against them." People awak'd out of their Lethargy, says *Echard*, and without rubbing their Eyes, ran to Arms. Every Body did not do so; witness the *Grand Jury* of the County of *Somerset*, who, in their Presentment, acknowledg'd the great Care and Pains of the Parliament for the Peace of the Nation; particularly, in their late Votes touching the King, desiring the Judges to return their humble Thanks to the Parliament, and their Resolutions to adhere to them in Prosecution thereof. Further, the *Somersetshire* Gentry complain of *Malignants*, *Apostates* and *Neutrals*; from whose Power they desir'd to be freed; of the Multitude

Whitl.
p. 300.

of Alehouses and Maltsters, Forefallers, Ingrossers and Regrettors, factious Men being in Offices in Corporations, and oppressing the People, as Lawyers and Attorneys; such Grievances as these would make every Year dark, if they were taken notice of. By Lawyers here is not meant those Learned Gentlemen of the Honourable Profession of the Law, who, after a generous Education, proceed to as generous a Practice, but the *Petty-foggers*, the *Vermin*, that fatten on the Spoils of their Neighbours, the *Widows* and the *Orphans*, by *Defamations*, *Batteries*, *petty Suits*, *spiriting up of Causes*, by *suborning Witnesses* and *bribing Juries*; which Cities and great Towns are not so sensible of as little Burroughs and Villages, where the Grievance is now much more crying than ever; and it is a deplorable Case, that of so many excellent Schemes for redressing it, not one of them has taken Effect in almost fourscore Years: For so long ago it is, that the *Grand Jury* of *Somerset* complain'd of it to the Parliament, and the House thank'd the Gentlemen for it, referring it to a Committee to appoint well-affected Magistrates in that County, not *Delinquents*, not those that had taken Arms for arbitrary Power and spiritual Persecution. The Parliament wou'd never trust one of them, and those that did it afterwards, soon repented of their Credulity. Mr. *Echard* is so angry with this *Grand Jury*, that he assures us, they were pack'd on purpose by Mr. *Prideaux*.

Speaking of the *Moorfields Tumult*, and its being quieted, Mr. *Echard* informs us, their *Posts and Chains* were pull'd down; Mr. *Whitlock* writes, that the Parliament order'd their *Posts and Chains* to be set up: The Archdeacon; all Wales seem'd at once to shake off the Parliaments cruel Toak. The Lord Commissioner; Flintshire, Denbighshire, and Montgomeryshire, enter'd into an Association for
the

the Parliament. Echard; The Fleet detesting the Tyranny of their old Masters, set Vice-Admiral Rainsborough ashore. Whitlock; The Fleet declar'd for the King, Parliament and Covenant. Mr. Echard is highly delighted with these Riots and Revels, insinuating, they were all for the Royal Cause. Whereas, that in Suffolk was only about a Maypole. He gives an Account of the Duke of York's Escape in Disguise, but does not say, that it was contrary to his Parole, Whitl. 302.

A little after we meet with one of the most polittick *Parentheses* that did ever illustrate History. The Parliament reviv'd the Vote, that the *King seduc'd by wicked Counsel, the Parenthesis is (tho' then a close Prisoner) intends to make War against the Parliament*; as if what was done by his Agents with his Consent, was not done by himself. And the very same Author, two Pages before, in the very same Chronicle, informs us, that when he was as close a Prisoner, *he sign'd a Treaty with the Scots to raise an Army, which was the Foundation of a New War.* The Insurrections on which he builds his Hopes, and even the *Scots Invasion*, were such whimsical and rash Expeditions, that they are hardly worth telling. The Parliament had an old triumphant Army, commanded by the best Officers in the World; and had all the Cavaliers, *Scots and English*, been in a Body, they wou'd have cut them to Pieces as fast as they cou'd come at them. Nothing cou'd have hurt them, but the Divisions and Animosities among themselves. The Effect of Ambition, Jealousy, Avarice, Envy and Success. If any one has the Curiosity to know more of this wise Business the *Scots Invasion*, he may find it in the History of the *Grand Rebellion*, and in *no other History*, says the Archdeacon. This New Civil War gives Occasion only for more of his Judicious I F's. If *the*

Earl of Norwich had come with the rest of the *Kentish Rabble*, *Fairfax* and his *Army* had been totally routed. If they had not been so closely pursu'd, they design'd to have gone farther: If a *Thousand Foot* had been sent to *Langdale*, he verily believes he wou'd have defeated *Cromwel*, *Lambert*, and the *Parliament Army*; and I do verily believe, if the *Author* had had more Wit, we shou'd not have had one of these *IF's* in his *History*. I refer the *Reader* to the *Archdeacon* for an Account of the *King's Privacies* at *Carisbrook Castle*; but when he tells us positively, *Captain Rolph*, a Friend of *Governor Hammond's* conspir'd to poison his Majesty, that he was try'd for it by *Judge Wild*, a true *Servant to the Parliament*, that the *Grand Jury* was pack'd on purpose to find an *Ignoramus*, pursuant to the *Judge's* wholesome *Directions*, tho' one *Osborn* swore *Home*: I must bring the Evidence of *King Charles* the First himself against all this positive *History*, or he certainly will go off with it. *Whitlock*, p. 316. *The King* declar'd *Colonel Hammond* was a *Man of Honour and Trust*, and had carried himself civilly and respectfully to him; that *Osborn* had unjustly and ungratefully aspers'd the *Governor*; and as touching the *Preservation* of his *Person* from *Poison*, or any such horrid *Design*, the *King* said, he was so confident of the *Honesty* and *Faithfulness* of the *Governor*, that he thought himself as safe in his *Hands*, as if he were in the *Custody* of his own *Son*. *Echard* p. 651. makes the *King* say, the *Governor* is such a *Rogue*, I can't be in worse *Hands*: Can two *Contraries* be more contrary than the *Archdeacon's History* is to *Commissioner Whitlock's Memorials*; and *Whitlock* being, as he owns himself, a very fair *Writer*, I leave it to any body else to say, what he himself is?

The Siege of Colchester is notably described in his *Chronicle History*, as is also the Execution of Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle afterwards. Sir Charles put his Hands to his Sides, and cry'd, **R E B E L S**, do your worst. A harmless innocent Man this, who was murder'd, according to Echard, by General Fairfax, whose Report is much more agreeable to Truth, and the Nature of the Thing, in his Letter to the Parliament. "That for some Satisfaction to *military Justice*, and in Part of Avenge for the innocent Blood they had caused to be spilt, and the Trouble, Damage and Mischiefs, they had brought upon that Town, that County, and the Kingdom, he had, with the Advice of the Council of War of the chief Officers, both of the County Forces and the Army, caused Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, to be shot to Death, before any of them had Quarter assur'd them." Lucas urged it was without *Precedent*, but a Parliament Soldier standing by, told him, *he had put to Death with his own Hand several of the Parliament's Soldiers in cold Blood*; at which he was dismayed, *Whitl. p. 328.* Not a Syllable of this *Dismay* or *cold Blood* in the *Chronicler*. Instead of which the *Chronicler* shews him with his Arms *a-Kimbo*, defying Death, and calling Names with his last Breath, and turns General Fairfax's *Military Justice* into a *Bloody Sacrifice*.

In King Charles's Book, there's an admirable Passage, which Mr. Echard assures us are his own Words; and doubtless the Reader will think they are as pat, as if they had been made on purpose: *Was it thro' Ignorance that I suffer'd the Earl of Strafford's innocent Blood to be shed by a false pretended Justice*; An Act of Parliament only; or that I permitted the Presbyterian wrong Way of Worship,
by

by praying to God, and preaching his holy Gospel in Scotland, and injured the Bishops in England, Oh No, &c. The jumbling the Earl of *Strafford* and the Bishops together, is the plainest Proof in the World, that Bishop *Gauden* did not write the Book.

I wish as heartily as the Archdeacon does, that the Treaty of *Newport* had succeeded; I think the Terms offer'd by his Majesty very gracious and complying. It was without doubt, *Cromwel's* Treachery and Intrigues, which prevented its Success. Nor were the Clergy about the King free from Censure on this unhappy Occasion, by perswading him to insist more upon their Interests, than was meet for him to do in his present Circumstances: Wou'd to God, they had consider'd his Majesty's Interests, his Crown and Dignity, nay his very Life, as much as their Titles, their Tithes, &c. Church Government, says *Whitlock*, and publick Worship, and CHIEFLY, the Revenues of the Church swayed more with the King's Chaplains then attending him, and they more with his Majesty (continually whispering Matter of Conscience to him) than the Parliament and all their Commissioners cou'd prevail with him for an Agreement; tho' possibly his own Judgment, which was above all theirs, might not be so fully convinc'd by his eager Divines. Why are not other Historians so honest as to own all this, and lay the Death of the King at the Door of those that continually whisper'd such dangerous Things to him, and perswaded him rather to suffer Death, than any Diminution of their Prerogatives and Incomes. Mr. *Echard*, instead of this, is always putting *Sacrilege* and *Conscience* in the King's Mouth, and making him say more for the Church than for himself, tho' he had agreed to confirm the Assembly of Divines, whom the Lord *Clarendon* calls Informers, their Directory, which Mr. *Echard* calls

calls the *Thing*, &c. And even about this same *Sacrilege*, which, in plain *English*, is selling Bishops Lands, the Parliaments Commissioners, Lords and Commons, alledg'd, *it lay so much in the Laws, that Ministers cou'd not judge of it*; his Majesty also consented himself afterwards to the abolishing *Archbishops, Chancellors, Deans, Chapters, &c.* And that *no Bishops shou'd ordain without the Counsel and Assistance of Presbyters.*

All along, from one End of his History to the other, Mr. *Echard* never speaks of Bishops, but as the very same as the Apostles themselves were; nor of *Episcopacy*, but as the *Primitive*, which he knows well enough, no body of common Sense was against. The Parliament's Commissioners in Answer to the King's mentioning Apostolical Bishops, explain this Matter: "*It is not the Apostolical Bishops, which the Bill desires your Majesty to remove; but that Episcopacy, which was formerly establish'd by Law in this Kingdom, grown up to an Height of outward Pomp and Greatness; and found by Experience to be a Grievance to the Subject, a Hindrance of Piety, an Encroachment upon the Powers of the Civil Magistrate, and so a Burthen to the Persons, Purfes and Consciences of Men.*" If there is not the least Word of all this in all the Lord *Clarendon's* large History, nor in all Mr. *Echard's*, I must charge them with writing on a Side; if that is consistent with Impartiality, let the Word for ever be left out of our Language.

The Parliament's Commissioners, Lords and Commons must intend what they say in Answer to the King, only of such Bishops as *Laud, Neile, Wren, Mountague, Manwaring* and *Harsnet*; for, in our Times, we have the Happiness to see *Episcopacy* in other sort of Hands, and a true primitive Christian Spirit in the Bishops. We have seen and do
see

see them alike loyal to the King, and zealous for the publick Interest; and we are taught by it, that it is the Abuse of a good Thing which often renders it odious, when a right Use of it would render it a very great Blessing. Had such Bishops as these flourish'd in the Reign of King Charles the First, there never had been a *grand Rebellion* to exercise the Lord Clarendon's fine Talent, nor an *Anniversary* Fast to exercise the little Wit and great Malice of the *Rural* Priesthood. It is not for such Bishops as ours now are, Men of Piety and Learning, Charity and Merit, that Mr. Echard forms his Encomiums, but for such as the Parliament's Commissioners speak of in the Passage before cited.

Throughout all the History of the *grand Rebellion* and Mr. Echard's, we have frequently observ'd, that the best Face is every where put upon the King's Affairs, whether they will bear it or no. The Counsellors are all Sages, the Bishops all Saints, the Officers are all Heroes, and Matters go swimmingly with the Help of an IF or two, as long as there's a Man left in the Field. But there's nothing said of the Difficulties the King struggled with by the Insolence of his own Party, his own Officers civil and military; so scandalous, that Mr. Locke says, *The Treatment he met with from his Followers at Oxford, Newark, &c. made it an hard but almost even Choice to be the Parliament's Prisoner, or their Slave.* Why do we not meet the least Hint of this in the Lord Clarendon's or Mr. Echard's History? As to Newark indeed, there are some Touches on the Refractoriness of the Soldiery, but all Things every where else could not be manag'd more decently or more prudently than they were.

*Des Mai-
zeaux, Col.
p. 141.*

The

The Vote of Parliament, that his Majesty's *Concessions* to the *Propositions* of the Parliament upon the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*, are sufficient *Grounds* for settling the *Peace* of the Kingdom, was the last good one; and nothing follows but Confusion and Violence till the Death of the King, the wicked Work of the Soldiery.

Speaking of *Pride's Purge*, and that Officer's seizing many Members of Parliament, he says, *their great Preacher*, Hugh Peters, stood by him; and then he acts over the Part of that *Pulpit Buffoon*. The following Description is almost as merry as some Stories of the above-mention'd *Rural Priesthood*, in a certain laughable Book call'd *The Reasons and Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy*, written by the facetious Dr. *Echard of Cambridge*, and very well worth any body's Reading. He put his Hands before his Eyes in the Pulpit, and laid his Head on the Cushion; from whence, after a while, he rais'd it suddenly up, and cry'd out a Revelation, in a Sermon before the House of Lords and House of Commons. 'Tis pity this Story is not true, because 'tis so pretty a one. In what, I pray, was Parson Hugh Peters inferior to Parson Hudson, who, he says, was barbarously murder'd this Year by the REBELS? The Author praises him for his Valour and martial Enterprizes, as if there was no Difference between the Functions of a Divine and a Dragoon. Parson Hudson headed an Insurrection in *Lincolnshire*. Colonel Waite, with a Party of Roundheads, fell upon him, and kill'd the Parson who commanded the Rioters. I do not call them *Rebels*; 'tis a privilege Word, and one would think the Authors of the grand Rebellion and the last History of England, had a Charter for it. Waite took several Prisoners, and dispers'd the rest. The Archdeacon terms the Death of the chief Ruler a Murder, and thinks he has sufficient

Warrant for the frequent Use of the Word *Rebel*, from the Title of my Lord *Clarendon's* History. That Lord wrote his Book in Exile, when he was sharpen'd by Misery and Banishment; and it was the least Revenge he cou'd take to *Rebel and Round-head* his Adversaries. But for Mr. *Echard* to be so free with the greatest Names in History, with the Parliament of *England*, and the best Protestants in the Kingdom, to insult them thus for *drawing the Sword to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and vindicate their just Liberties*, as was declar'd by the Parliament who restor'd King *Charles II.* and to do so in a Reign which is founded on *Revolution* Principles, which assert Resistance in Cases of *extream Necessity*, argues a very great Deficiency in Knowledge, Modesty and good Manners. If Dr. *Sancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops who call'd in the Prince of *Orange* to assist them against King *James* and his ill Ministers, had had no better Success than Dr. *Hudson*, they would have been *REBELS*, and foul Mouths would not have stuck to call them so, as that King did in his first Declaration from *St. Germain's*.

Whitl.
p. 357.

I abhor the Murder of the King, and all the irregular Steps taken towards it; particularly, the Petitions which were sent up out of the Country, *that Justice may be done upon Delinquents*; one of the first was from *Somersetshire*, another from Colonel *Mackworth* and the Garrison of *Shrewsbury*; another Petition from *Hull*, and from the County of *Norfolk*, to the same wicked Purpose, *that Justice may be done on the Authors of our Troubles and Bloodshed in the Three Kingdoms, in an exemplary Way suitable to their Crimes, and without Respect of Persons*. There were other Petitions mention'd by *Whitlock*, who also gives us the Sentiments of the sober Men in the House of Commons, lump'd
along

along with the others by Mr. Echard, as Traytors and REBELS: They insisted upon it, that the King was not capable of being brought to Justice by his Subjects, but by God alone; and that having subdu'd him and his Party, there was no need of any thing further, but to secure the Parliament from their Enquiries rising against them any more, and that might be done without bringing the King to a judicial Trial; a Thing not read of in any History. The Lords rejected the Ordinance for the Trial of the King, and adjourn'd for ten Days. The Archdeacon assures us, at the ten Days end, the Lords found all their Doors lock'd, and secur'd with Padlocks. Contrary to which, Commissioner Whitlock affirms, they met and sent down an Ordinance to the House of Commons for Adjournment of the Term during the Trial of the King, but the Commons would not own them.

In Page 655. our Historian gives us the *State of the Nation*, Anno Domini, 1648. he brags that he had it from a considerable Writer, as one may perceive by the Politeness of his Stile, and the Honesty of his Sentiments: *Presbyterians REBELLION GRAND, worse Devils, vote out Bishops, REBELLION, vilest Instruments, driven out of the House, rotten Members, Traytors, REBELLION, Fellow Traytors, Covenant, an Idol, a Stalking Horse, an Old Almanack, Calvinian Levites, Rabshekabs, Blasphemy, Sedition, Madness, Caterpillars, Locusts, City of London the Sanctuary of Sedition, divine Vengeance, REBELLION.* There's hardly a more coherent, eloquent and mannerly Sentence in all Heylin and Nalson, when they treat of the same Subject. There's also abundance of this sort of Eloquence in Mr. Echard's History Book mix'd with some Pun and some Descriptions of the like Value; as that *President Bradshaw wore a thick high-crown'd Hat lin'd with Steel, to keep off*

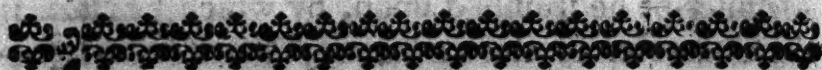
off *Knocks o' the Pate*; that the Coward Cromwel was afraid to look upon the King; that a Voice was heard which disorder'd the Court; that the Soldiers shot off their Guns at the Ladies in the Boxes. This truly tragical Story has so many absurd Circumstances in it, as related by Mr. Echard, that it rather diminishes than adds to the Horror of it. His *Secret History* about the King's refusing to sign the Paper Book, and the Dialogue between General Oliver Cromwel and his Cousin Colonel John Cromwel, are as well worth reading as any other of his Curiosities, not to be met with in the inferior Writers. He himself walks upon Stilts. I suppose, the Tale of the two Cromwels was told purely to crack a Jest upon going to Prayer, which in those Days was term'd *Seeking God*; and the Historian has a great deal of Wit, or a great deal of Grimace upon it, in several Parts of his Work.

P. 364. He informs us, Dr. *Juxon* was not admitted to see the King, till the Evening before he was beheaded. Mr. *Whitlock* writes, there was an Order for Dr. *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, to go to his Majesty nine Days before; and upon a Motion of *Hugh Peters* too, who was handsomely rewarded for it twelve Years after. The Close of the Tragedy is as incredible as the rest of it. The *Papists* procur'd the Death of the King, who never gave them Protection, Countenance or Favour. To prove it, we are told Sir *John Danvers*, one of the King's Judges, was a rank *Romanist*. Of the the same kind is a Story he had from an old Woman of a Meeting, at which assisted Mr. *Rushworth*, Lilly the *Almanack-maker*, the Lord *Baltimore*, and several other *Papists*, who sent *Rushworth* to the King the Day before his Death, with Offers, that if he wou'd own himself to be the Cause of the War, they, Lilly the *Almanack-maker*, &c. would

would set him on the Throne again. If there's any more Probability in this Incident of his than in the others, 'tis on Account of their having a *Conjurer*, Mr. *Lilly* among them, who could engage the Stars on their Side; without which, at that time, there was not the least Likelihood of doing any good to themselves. The King would not do as *Rusworth* and *Lilly* would have had him, so that hopeful Scheme miscarry'd. There are many such delicate Morsels of History in the Manuscript he stumbl'd upon, by which he assumes the Character of the *uncommon superior Historiographer*.

In the first Part, I made some Observations on the Prodigies and Miracles, with which this tragick Scene was opened and closed. I shall only add what Dr. *Perinches*, one of Mr. *Echard's* best Authors, said on this Occasion, in King *Charles* the First's Life: *Some purchased Chips of the Block on which he was beheaded, and Parcels of Sand discolour'd with his Blood, as also some of his Hair, hoping they would be a Means of Cure for the Disease which our English Kings, thro' the Indulgence of kind Heaven, by their Touch, did usually heal; and it was reported, that these holy Relicks experienced, fail'd not of the Effect.* The Archdeacon would doubtless have made rare Work of this Passage had it lain in his Way; for 'tis impossible, but he must believe every word of it; and that all the Kings and Queens of *England*, from the first Confessor's Time to the last's, King *James II.* could cure with a Touch like Dr. *Greatarakes*. Indeed King *William III.* the greatest and best of our Kings could not cure; nor that glorious Queen and Saint, his Royal Consort, Queen *Mary*; nor Queen *Anne*, but with Intermision, according to the *Orthodoxism* of the Ministry; nor can his present Majesty do it any more than King *William*,

tho' his Royalty is establish'd by more Laws than ever was that of any King of *England*; and the losing of this invaluable Gift is always very invidiously put to the Account of the *Revolution*; which, thanks be to God, has been attended with so many Blessings much more invaluable, that we may very well bear the Loss of this one, which a certain Profession made the most of as long as it lasted.



CHAP. IV.

Observations on Mr. Echard's History of the Commonwealth of England.

1649.

AFTER the Commonwealth was established, he tells us, the *Lords* were voted to be as liable to Arrests as *Commoners*; that the *Commoners* in Parliament were put on the same Foot with those out of it; and both *Lords and Commoners* made liable to the Law for Payment of Debts. We are now entring upon the Government of the *Rump* or *Pag-end*, says *Echard*, out of the Abundance of his Eloquence; and it must be own'd, that however they behav'd in the Exercise of their Power, their possessing of it was unwarrantable; but the Archdeacon is at more Pains than was necessary to prove the Illegality of it, and at the Expence of some Misrepresentation to make them worse than they were; one of 'em he tells us was a *Papist*, and reduces the Number of the Parliament from 3 or 400 Members to about 100. He will not let Dr. *Morley* absolve the Lord *Capel*, unless he

he confess'd his Sin in voting for the Earl of *Straford's* Attainder; and rather than go out of the World *unabsolv'd*, his Lordship made his Confession on the Scaffold.

The Historian has got a Parcel of Russians into the Castle of *Pomfret*, and he speaks of their Conduct and Courage, as if they had had something better in View than the Gallows. Some of them had assassin'd Colonel *Rainsborough* at *Doncaster*, which he represents thus: *A select Party strangely surpriz'd him in the midst of his Quarters; and when he began to struggle and cry out, they stabb'd him, and left him dead.* Such heroick Exploits as these one might have expected in his *Annals*, considering on which side he had list'd. These Assassines pretended to be Friends, and Messengers from *Cromwel*; upon which, *Rainsborough*, who was a-Bed, rose and open'd his Door, and one of them shot him into the Head, another into the Heart, and after they had murder'd him escap'd without any *Alarm* given. He shews his Approval of this bloody Action in cold Blood, by his Pity for poor Colonel *Morris*, who richly deserv'd to be hang'd for murdering a Gentleman in his Bedchamber, there being no War then in the Kingdom; and hang'd he was, together with Cornet *Blackburn*, another of the Murderers, whom for his Share in this heroick Action he has made Colonel *Blackburn*.

Colonel *Poyer* being shot for Desertion, he declares he was *slaughter'd*: He had taken a Commission from the Parliament, and serv'd them several Years. If they could give him that Commission, they could punish him for deserting it. 'Tis very hard, that such easy Things as these are not within his Comprehension.

What follows is some of that History for which *Dr. Busby* would have disciplin'd a Scholar of his,

Echard,
p. 671.

Whitlock,
p. 381.

if there had been the least Hopes of his coming to good: *While the Commonwealth of England was laying its Foundation in Blood, the Readers were alarm'd from Ireland and Scotland; just as much as I should be put into a Pannick, if he were about to criticise on the Critical History; from Ireland, by the great Advantages obtain'd by the Marquis of Ormond, who had driven out the Pope's Nuncio, as will appear by the Treaty he made with the Irish Papists, who were to have free Exercise of Religion, Church-Livings and Jurisdiction, Oath of Supremacy to be abolis'd, all Laws against them since the Rebellion 1641 vacated, to have a Parliament of their own, all Honours and Preferments, to approve of Governors of Ports, and to have whatever else is necessary for the Catholics.*

He cannot let so small a Business as a Feast pass without Reflexion, and the Lord Mayor and City having invited the Parliament to dine with them at Grocer's Hall; he assures us, *The Members would not come till every one of the Cooks had taken an Oath not to poison them, which carries Conviction along with it.*

Echard,
p. 673.

He had rais'd a mighty Army for the Marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and advances with it towards Dublin; but Colonel Jones, then Governor of that City, met him, and routed his Army with a quarter Part of the Forces. *The Great Ormond, cries Echard, who had spent the Night on Horseback in rounding and viewing the several Parts of the Army, but being newly laid to Rest, was rous'd by the coming in of the Lord Tasse, &c. There was no great Need of viewing and rounding an Army, that was so soon to be routed by a quarter Part of their Number, especially since this extraordinary Dilligence is directly contrary to Whitlock, p. 403. Ormond was at Tables in his Quarters, when the first News came of the Beating up of his Guard; and answer'd*

answer'd the Messenger, I wish the REBELS wou'd come, that we may have some Sport with them. REBELS again. You see they have all the same Cant: But a second Messenger bringing him News of the Rout of his Party, he left his Play.

The *Popish* Bishop of *Rosse* being taken in Arms by the Lord *Brogbill*, he caus'd him to be bang'd up without Respect to his Character, says the Archdeacon; but he does not tell us a Saying of that *Irish* Bishop, There's no way to secure the *English* but by hanging them.

The Archdeacon shews his Good-will to our Constitution in an extraordinary Manner, when he extols the Advantages of *Arbitrary Power*: The Commonwealth shin'd with dazzling Splendor, but not with the Regular Beauty of an *Absolute Monarchy*; as good Nonsense as one could wish for. The Commonwealth of *Rome* shin'd with dazzling Splendor, but not with the Regular Beauty of the *Absolute Monarchy* of *Morocco*. He lives under a limited one, which indeed has born the Attacks of *Sermons, Decrees, Addresses, Libels, &c.* for above 100 Years past.

When the Historian sums up the Year, one wou'd think there had been a Body of *Irish Tories* quarter'd at Discretion upon every Town; and there was no such thing as Religion in England, since the Ejectment of the scandalous and insufficient Ministers, because there were no such things as Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Chancellors, Archdeacons, &c. Innumerable others suffer'd from *Robbers and Pillagers*, who, in twenty or thirty in a Body, broke into Houses, and committed many other Ravages. *Heresses and Blasphemies* swell'd against Heaven to a prodigious Height. The Spirit of the Times is seen in *Whitlock*, p. 440. where he inserts a Letter from the chief Officers to others in the Army; Exhorting to Prayer and Unity, and

to join in keeping a Day of Humiliation set apart to seek God; the Archdeacon's Mirth is strangely excited by that Expression; for his Assistance to them in all Services, whereunto they shall be called, and to reform Drunkenness, Swearing, Profanation of the Lord's Day, Contempt of the Ordinances of Christ, and all Sins in their several Charges; and to sanctify the Camp. If the Military Men had such a Sense of Irreligion, what must the civil Part of the Nation have? His Quotation out of *Whitlock's* Manuscript is so contradictory to his *Memorials*, that it deserves not Attention. He allows Mr. *Whitlock* to be a wise and knowing Man; he might have learn'd from that knowing and wise Man, that the Parliament punish'd the impious *Salmon*, and *Wyke*, one of his Crew who breath'd upon the Soldier. But *Echard* gives us to understand they had a Licence for this Extravagance, p. 678. He's very warm against *Revelations* and *Inspirations*, when the *Enthusiasts* laid claim to them; but very seriously informs us, that Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dean of *Worcester*, on his Death-bed made more than ordinary prophetic Discoveries, and foretold the unexpected *Restoration*; for when *Inspiration* and *Revelation* are on his Side, they have as much Authority with him as with *George Fox*, and others who pretended to engross them.

Nor must we forget, says the Archdeacon, Sir *Thomas Glemham's* noble *Valour* and *Bravery*, nor his invincible *Loyalty*, nor his inviolable *Fidelity*; how he abounds in Words? He might very well fill up so many Folio's.

I do not think the Reader will take much Pleasure in his *Scot's* History, the Negotiations of the Covenanters to bring King *Charles II.* to *Scotland*; a Project which had nothing to support it but *Despair*; and some Prophecies which *Montross* was inspir'd with, that with 700 Men he should recover

recover *Scotland* for the King, and from thence conduct an Army to reduce *England*. He assures us also, the Marquis prophesy'd again the Day before he was executed: His Prophecies have as much Weight with him as *Ezekiel's*; but if a *Presbyterian* presumes to take upon him the Spirit of Prophecy, he's a *Heretick*, a *Blasphemer*, &c. When the Marquis of *Montrose* was brought before the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Echard* tells us, the Lord Chancellor upbraided him with *Murthers*, *Treasons* and *Impieties*; but he does not tell us, that he put him in Mind how much formerly he had been for the *Covenant*, and how he had since broken it.

The first Thing King *Charles II.* did after his Arrival in *Scotland*, was to sign both *Covenants*, which have been so much written against, and preached against by the Archdeacon and his Brethren. Mr. *Whitlock* writes, that a *Lancashire* Parson made another Prophecy, at this Time, that King *Charles the Second* should govern the Nation with more Glory than his Father did. How was that possible? And that there would be a great Plague the same Year, which was as true as *Ames's* or *Lacy's* Prophecies. We have still another Prophecy in the Chronicle; and it is one of *Oliver Cromwel's*, which presag'd that he should be hang'd.

1650.

When he informs us, that *Oliver* ran away in his *Drawers*, he introduces it with beating up his Quarters, and routing seven or eight Parties of Horse by Colonel *Montgomery*; who, says *Whitlock*, sally'd out on *Cromwel's* Rear, but was beaten back to the Trenches of the *Scots* Camp. However, Mr. *Echard* stands in it, that IF he had been well supported, he might have destroyed *Oliver's* Army.

All the Blessings the Historian boasts of in the Reign of King *Charles II.* might reasonably have been

been expected from the *Plain-Dealing* and *Sincerity* of that Prince, who sign'd a *Declaration* in *Scotland*; wherein, *he thank'd God, for perswading him of the Justice of the Covenant which he had taken and subscrib'd, and resolv'd to maintain*; He desir'd to be deeply humbled for his Father's bloody Actions and his Mother's Idolatry: He acknowledg'd all his own Sins, and the Sins of his Father's House; and would look upon them as Enemies who oppos'd the Covenant, which he took without any sinister End; and abborr'd all Popery, Superstition, Idolatry and Prelacy, declaring his Sorrow for his Sinfulness in making Peace with the Irish Rebels. This, and a great deal more, did that Prince set his Hand to; and the Arch-deacon repeats it gravely, as if there had been nothing at all in it, tho' he was sworn to every Word of the Covenant, and not a Word of it was kept by him.

The reverend Historian banters the Acts of Parliament against *Cursing and Swearing, breaking the Sabbath, &c.* The latter he calls a *Holy Act* with a Fleece. Tho' some of these Men are obliged, by the Duty of their Function, to study the Scripture, and teach the *Christian Religion*; yet they affect a Contempt of every thing that is serious and edifying; and for fear People should not lay enough Stress upon Form, they despise and ridicule the Power of *Godliness*. No wonder they are so obstinae in Defence of *prophaning the Lord's Day*, when they had publish'd *Two Books of Sports* to oblige People to it, and had ruin'd great Numbers of worthy conscientious Ministers for not promoting that Wickedness.

After the Battel of *Dunbar*, which he tells differently from *Whitlock*, he assures us on the Faith of a Cavalier, that the Scots Prisoners were driven by *Cromwel's Men* like *Turkeys*. What's that to him? They were Presbyterians, and 'twas no Mat-
ter

ter what became of them. But unhappily the Fact P. 684. is not true; 1600 of them, says he, were starv'd, and they had nothing to eat but green Cabbage and Oats. These Men cannot speak Truth, even in so small a Thing as a Cabbage is. *Whitlock*, p. 456. Every Scots Prisoner had three Biskets a Day, and a Pottle of Pease; which, they said, was more than their own Officers gave them three Days together.

He's in a strange Concern, that the Parliament should make Laws for their own Preservation, and when they were made, put them in Execution. They were the Government then; and to conspire against it, was as much Treason under that Constitution as any other; yet he admires how they durst hang up Dr. *Levens*, a very learned Gentleman of the Civil Law, and to cut off the Head of Colonel *Eusebius Andrews*, a very learned Gentleman of the Common Law, only for plotting their Destruction.

The Description of the Parliament's second Year seems to be design'd for the second Year of *Harley*, when the *Lions* were in Fashion. "Swarms of
"Informers began to wander about in all Places,
"they listen'd in Churches, attended in Taverns
"and Alehouses, repair'd to all publick Places of
"Exercise, corrupted Noblemen and Gentlemen's
"Servants, brib'd the chief Vintners, &c. not the
Underlings or *Drawers*.

'Tis impossible, by this Writer's History, to conceive any Idea of these Times. One would imagine, by his Writings, that the Republick consisted of a Parcel of Thieves, Cowards, Blockheads, Atheists and Scoundrels: That their Power was Tyranny, and the People of *England* Slaves in the very Height of Liberty: That in the midst of strict Justice, nothing was heard of but Robberies and Rapes; and in the strictest Practice of Religion, Impiety and Prophaneness every where triumph'd;

triumph'd: That, at a Time when Trade was most flourishing, Poverty and Beggary made the Nation desolate; and when the *English* Name and Credit were the Envy and Dread of the World, that the Kingdoms and States around us, look'd upon us with Contempt or Detestation; in a word, that the Government of *England* was as much neglected and despis'd abroad, as it had been in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles I.* Why does he and his Party invent Things thus? But because they had not the Power to plunder, persecute, torture and enslave their honest Neighbours, as in the Days of *Laud, Wren, Neile, &c.*

King *Charles* having attempted to make his Escape from the *Scots* Army, Mr. *Echard* assures us, the Duke of *Buckingham* was not entrusted with the Secret. Such cunning Men has the King always about him; but, on the contrary, *Whitlock* tells us, *The King* slipp'd away from the *Scots* with the Duke of *Bucks*; His slipping away, according to the Chronicle, *tbrew all Things into great Confusion and Distraction*; every thing has some Importance with him. There's a Chariot Wheel for every Fly; if the Cavaliers go backwards or forwards; if they fight or they fly, if they shew themselves or hide themselves, 'tis all for the better: *This Start*, says the Historian, *turn'd to the King's Advantage.* *Whitlock* tells us, *The King* made his Repentance for endeavouring to escape. In his Speech to the Parliament at *St. John's Town*, he express'd much Joy that he was the first covenanted King.

Archbishop *Williams* dying this Year, the Archdeacon informs us, *he ordain'd a Man on Purpose* to give him *Absolution*, which it seems cannot be done effectually, but by a regular *Presbyter* of our national Church: A very great Privilege this above all other Protestant Churches; for no other *Presbyter* can absolve or indeed presume to pretend

tend to it. Thus, if any Man should die in *Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, Geneva, Hungary or Pennsylvania*, among the *Hugonots* or among the *Grisons*, in the *Calvinian Cities of Germany*, or the *Valleys of Piedmont*, the Lord have Mercy upon him! No Absolution is to be had, nor are the Keys ever in the Way. The Archdeacon is not in Jest when he writes these Things.

King *Charles II.* being crown'd at *Scoon*, took a Solemn Oath, which began thus : *I Charles, &c. do assure and declare by my Solemn Oath, in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of Hearts, can one read it without trembling ! my Allowance and Approbation of the NATIONAL COVENANT, and will confirm it, as also the Directory of Worship, Presbyterian Government, and the like, by Act of Parliament ; which Covenant, instead of being confirm'd, was burnt by the common Hangman as soon as he became King of England.*

The Story of *Nalson's Providential Vengeance of robbing the Post-Boy, and stealing away Parson Love's Reprieve*, is excellent History, so secret that no body ever heard of it, but *Nalson* and himself; nor will ever any body report it after him.

Having got an Army together, and put King ^{1651.} *Charles* at the Head of it, he marches them into *England*, as to a Conquest. *Whitlock* informs us, 'twas out of *Desperation, Fear, and inevitable Necessity*, that they ran away from *Scotland*, to try what they cou'd do in this Way. But *Echard* is very glad they are come, and frights the Parliament out of their Wits. *They were most dreadfully alarm'd at the surprising News : They were still more alarm'd, and the News became more dreadful. They were thrown into the utmost Confusion : They began to look about how to fly the Kingdom. I do not believe, there is in any Language Welch, Irish, or Dutch,*
Print,

Print, or Manuscript, so foolish and ridiculous a Story. An Army of Runaways to conquer a *Victorious One*; increas'd by 2000 out of *Staffordshire*, 4000 out of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*; the Lord *Fairfax's* formidable Body in *Yorkshire*; the numerous *Militia* of *London*; the Horse and Foot of the adjacent Counties. In a word, says Mr. *Echard* himself immediately after, *the whole Force of England*. *Cromwel* in his Letter to the Parliament, treats them as a Parcel of *Desperadoes*, whom he had suffer'd to slip by him, that he might clear the Kingdom of them at once, when he cou'd come up with them. The *Scots* were but 12000 in all; General *Lambert* pursued them with 4000 Horse; *Cromwel* with 10000 Foot; Major-General *Harrison* with 4000 Horse more; besides the several little Armies before mentioned.

Mr. *Echard* positively affirms, that the King drove *Lambert* from *Warrington Bridge*. *Whitlock* on the contrary again; *The Scots Army* advanc'd in great Confusion, pursued by General *Lambert*, who wrote thus to the Parliament. "The Enemy prest hard on us in the Lanes, but we came off well: I commanded the Rear Guard to charge, which they did, and routed the Enemy. We had the Pursuit of them at least a Mile." Mr. *Echard* again: The Royal Army marched with incredible Expedition, a fine Term for Scampering; and no doubt, they were incredibly expeditious, having such Men as *Cromwel* and *Lambert* so close at their heels. He adds, they might have continued their March to *London*, had it not been found to be impracticable. p. 689. That is, they might have done it, if they cou'd. Rare Politicks! Rare History! The King according to him enter'd *Worcester* with little Opposition. *Whistl.* p. 123. The Country Forces made a gallant Resistance, and beat back the Enemy several Times.

It was believ'd, says the Historian, Colonel Mackworth won't have deliver'd up Shrewsbury. The Reason for this Belief must be, his signing a Petition for bringing the King's Father to Justice, as they term'd it in the *Shrewsbury Address*. The King took up his Quarters at *Worcester*, because it was so little out of his Way to London. Another admirable Reason, when he was as likely to reach the Moon, as that City, there being so many Armies to be beaten first. The King summon'd the neighbouring Nobility, Gentry and others to appear at *Worcester*, but none came, says *Whitlock*. The Archdeacon on the contrary, speaks of the Increase of his Army and Court. After he has muster'd both Armies, the King's 12000, the Parliament's 60000, he tells the famous Story of the *Devil and Oliver in the Wood*: *Cromwel* being so afraid of the King, tho' he had five to one, that he sold his Soul to *Satan*, to be secure of a Victory.

The *Royal Oak* is the Archdeacon's next Piece of History, and the several Circumstances of King *Charles's* Escape after the *Worcester Rout*, which Mr. *Echard* calls the most glorious Part of his Life; he has a very good Notion of Glory: *Whitlock* gives a quite different Account of the King's Escape: That he retir'd before he certainly knew of the entire Defeat of his Army; that he quitted *Worcester*, marched towards *Lancashire*, with a Party of Horse; and being fearful, lest the *Scots* Guard shou'd deliver him up, he and the Lord *Wilmot* left that Party, hid in a Tree, and then in a Wood. In *Lancashire*, they were received by a Lady, who gave them Cloaths and cut off their Hair. That the King rode behind her to *Bristol*, but finding a narrow and hot Enquiry there, they went to *London*, where they staid three Weeks, and the King went up and down in *London*, in a Gentlewoman's Habit; and saw the *Scots* Colours

at

at *Westminster*. That *Wilmot* hir'd a Ship for 120 *l*. and when they embark'd, the King waiting upon him as his Servant, the Master of the Vessel told him, he knew the King, and in Case it shou'd be known, he cou'd expect no Mercy. Money and Promises having quieted him, they set Sail for *Havre de Grace*, landed there, and went thence to *Paris*. If this Account be true, Mr. *Echard's* long Story of four or five *Folio* Pages, cannot be so, and it must be left to the Reader.

He represents the Execution of the Earl of *Derby*, as a Conspiracy against his Life, which there was no Occasion of. He had been taken in Arms, and was try'd by a *Court Martial* at *Chester*, at which assisted Colonel *Mackworth* President, Major General *Milton*, five Colonels and 15 Captains, and Field Officers, who condemn'd him to lose his Head at *Bolton*, his own Town, says *Echard*, to shew their Cruelty, where as they did it, as an Act of Justice, that he shou'd die there, where as *Whitlock* tells us, he had kill'd a *Parliamentarian* in cold Blood.

Since the Parliament had beaten their Enemies from one End of *England* to the other, they had had two formal Invasions, 20 or 30 Insurrections, all the Effects of Rage and Despair, rash and ill concerted; but it had cost the Lives of many brave Men, whose Blood must be charg'd at their Doors only, that reviv'd the War. To put an End to which, the then Constitution made Laws; and when those Laws were executed, Mr. *Echard* cries out, they are cutting of Throats, glutting themselves with Blood, and slaughtering like so many Butchers. But afterwards, when the Tables were turn'd; when the Priesthood had the Power and Wealth, and the *Presbyterians*, who restor'd the King, were plunder'd and jayled at Pleasure, an Execution then was only the Discipline of a smiling *Astrea*,
and

and the Hand of Justice as gentle, tho' reeking and streaming with Blood, as the soft Palm of the Stroaker *Greatarakes* or other such Healers.

I shall give an Instance of this Humanity out of *Ludlow*. When Mr. *Cooke* Solicitor-General was executed for assisting at the King's Tryal, the Head of Major-General *Harrison* was plac'd uncover'd, in the Sledge before him, and when his Body was cut down and quarter'd, the Hangman rubbing his bloody Hands together, came to Mr. *Peters* the Minister then going to suffer, and ask'd him, *how he lik'd this Work*. A Story, which does not in the least surprise me, considering who had then the Management of Affairs. A Set of Men, whose *Mercies* have in all Ages been Cruelties. Mr. *Echard* tells us, the Parliament *being at length a little satiated with Blood*, pass'd an Act of Oblivion, with many intricate Exceptions; than which nothing can be said more unfairly; for he cannot name an Indemnity Act, where the Exceptions are fewer and less intricate.

He complains of the Misery of the Kingdom, and the Interruption of Trade, at the same Time that it was interrupted only by his Heroes, who being driven out of *England*, rested in the Islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, and pyrated on the *English* Merchants, who petition'd the Parliament to reduce those Islands, and clear the Channel from *Pirates*, which was soon effected.

The Archdeacon forgets himself strangely in p. 698. where, after he has fill'd his History from 1641 to 1651, with *Rebels* and *Rebellion*, he speaks of the Care of the Parliament by building Forts in *Scotland*, to suppress any *new Rebellion* against them. Thus here is a *Rebellion* against *Rebels*. I thought there cou'd have been no *Rebels*, but against Archbishop *Laud*, and those evil Counsellors, that were the Cause of the *Civil Wars*; and

and I had very good Reason for it, since Mr *Echard* represented every one that was executed by the Parliament's Laws, as *murder'd* and *butcher'd*. If it had been possible for such good Men to be Rebels, then they were only *executed*, and not *slaughter'd*; which the Historian never allows, tho' he is so civil here to the Parliament, as to call the *Resistance* of the Royalists **REBELLION**; which has much more of the *Round head* in it than I can pretend to; but I suppose, he'll atone for it after the Restoration.

The Character he gives us of Mr. *Ireton*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, is so monstrous, that it murders Truth and Credibility; that Part of it, which he borrows from the Lord *Clarendon*, supposes his Lordship to have been in the *Inwards* of him, and to have dissected his Mind more than ever a Surgeon did a Carcass. He was less a *Dissembler* than *Cromwel*; so radically averse to Monarchy, that IF he had liv'd (*These IF's* are in all their Histories) he wou'd by *some means*, the Lord knows what, have prevented *Cromwel*'s Usurpation, or *publickly declar'd against it*; and *Oliver* removed him to *Ireland*, on Purpose to have him out of his Way. He did the Business there extreamly well, and disciplin'd the *Irish* Rebels better than any Commander in chief had done before him in that Kingdom. This our Historian calls *Sanguinary Proceedings*, and from the sagacious *Warwick* tells us, one of the most staring and stupid Falshoods, that ever disgraced History. His last Words on his Death-bed were, *I will have more Blood, Blood, Blood, Once, Twice, Thrice, Blood*. Is there an old Woman in *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*, that cou'd have told a more foolish Tale? General *Ludlow*, who commanded in *Ireland* after him, and was as much a better Politician than Sir *Philip Warwick*, as he was a Soldier, highly extolls Mr. *Ireton*'s Justice

Justice and Integrity. Mr. *Whitlock* adds, he was *active and resolute, of good Abilities, for Counsel as well as Action; and as he was brave in the Field, he was wary and prudent in the Cabinet.* Blood, Blood, Blood. God help them, if our Posterity were to be taught Example only by such History, as the Archdeacon and his Originals.

The Parliament, whom he has treated as the most pitiful Fellows in the Kingdom, have effectually proved the contrary. He opens the next Year with unsaying much of what he had said, *As the New Commonwealth was great at Home, so they became formidable abroad, being acknowledged by all, courted by some, and esteem'd very considerable by those that had the least Affection for them.* Will he venture to affirm, that from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Birth of the Republick, this Nation had ever been formidable abroad, or ever courted by any body?

Monk, Lieutenant in Scotland under *Cromwel*, reduced what was left in that Kingdom in Possession of the Royalists; much indeed was not so left, and the Work he had to do was not difficult to be accomplish'd. Mr. *Echard* assures us, the Scots were immediately made Slaves, and of 30 Commissioners appointed to sit in the Parliament of *Whitl. England*, as their Representatives, there were but p. 97. two Scots Men, *Argyle* and *Swinton*. This also executes itself. Why did he not tell us, that the Scots publish'd a Declaration, in which among other Things they desir'd, they may be govern'd by the English, and no Scots Men be employ'd in any Office of Power or Trust, in Church or State, who have formerly been Traytors by breaking the Covenant, and joyning *Montross*, *Hamilton*, or King *Charles II.*

The Care of the *Commonwealth* to protect and increase Commerce, appears in the famous *Act of Navigation*, which is now and probably will always be in Force, there being no Law so necessary for the Preservation of Trade. Mr. *Echard*, who doubtless understands Commerce as well as History, objects against it as a *new Law*; as if every Law that's made was not at first *New*; and then adds, *all Countries were concerned in it*; but the *Republick*, it seems had no Concern for any Country so much as their own, and therefore enacted, that *Foreign Ships shou'd bring no Commodities, but such as were the Proceed or Growth of their Country*, according to our Historian; which is not the Case. They may bring the Growth of other *European Countries*, if exported from the usual Places of Exportation, or we cou'd hardly have any Goods from *Holland*. The Act enjoyns all Ships, importing Commodities from *Asia, Africa and America*, to belong to the Subjects of *England*, and to have three fourths of their Crew *British*. It enjoyns also, that none but *English Ships*, three fourths of their Crew being *British*, shall trade to the *English Plantations* in *Asia, Africa or America*; and this Law contributes more to the Support of our Navigation, than all the Laws made in the Four Reigns, between the Death of *Queen Elizabeth*, and the Abdication of King *James*.

He introduces the *Dutch War* with certain Sea-Fights seen in the Air, as our Chronicles inform us. Himself, the greatest Chronicler we have, has told us of more Visions than any one Writer, since the Monks were the Historians. I suppose, he took his *Sky-Fight* from the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, who giving into the Ignorance and Credulity of the Age, says modestly, *Letters of a Vision seen at Sea*; and every one knows, what
Credit

Credit is to be given to Ship News. These Castles in the Air prognosticated the future Battels between the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, just as the *Blazing Star* in *Libra*, portended the Queen's dying of a Dropsy. 'Tis very probable, he thought the Prodigies in *Livy* were a sufficient Warrant for him to insert whatever of that Kind came in his Way; and pleasing his own Fancy, he doubted not it wou'd please also his Readers; but besides that every one is not of the same fanciful Temper, it was worth considering, that *Livy* wrote at a Time, and in a Country, when and where *Augurs* and *Auspices* were the most solemn Part of Religion, and in as much Credit, and as well understood in old *Rome*, as the Creed of *St. Athanasius* is in *New*; which can by no means be said of *Ghosts*, *Goblins*, *Devils*, *Blazing Stars*, and *Sky Fights*, in modern *English History*, tho' they make so considerable a Part of *Mr. Echard's*.

The War being begun between the *English Commonwealth*, who were Dissenters, and the *Dutch*, who were Presbyterians, he wou'd have been puzzled on whom to have bestowed his Partiality, if the *English* had not sacrilegiously broke in upon the Church's Patrimony; therefore it is, that they have not all the Justice done them, which the Truth of History requires. General *Blake*, who commanded the *English* Fleet, being a *Round-head*, many of his Men were slain in his first Skirmish with *Van Trump*. *Blake* reported 13 only. A small Difference this, but it shows the Historian's good Will.

His *Biography*, at the End of the Year 1652, is ornamented with the Character of a *Female* Worthy, the Lady *Davis*, the greatest Prophetess of those prophesying Times, and so great a Royalist, that she never gave but one Prophecy on the

Parlia-

Parliament side. A poor Scots Woman having utter'd some such Prediction, which succeeded as well as her Ladiship's, he treats her like a *Witch*, and indeed *Whitlock* does not treat her much better.

If it had been possible for our Historian to have given a reasonable and fair Account of any one Event, *Whitlock* would have furnish'd him with Matter, on the Subject of the Violence *Oliver* put upon the Parliament; but he rejects his Authority, and has Recourse to *Dugdale*; who tells him, *Cromwel* went into the Parliament House without pulling off his Hat; that having called them all *Rogues* and *Rascals*, he stamp'd with his Foot and bad them *be gone*, and to make room for honest Men. *Whitlock*, who was one of the Parliament, informs us, he said, *It was not fit they should sit as a Parliament any longer, and desir'd them to go away.* The Archdeacon gives them a sparring Blow at parting: *They founded their Power on the Ruin of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, with an infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure; an unnatural and ungovernable Authority blown down and destroy'd in a Moment; they sneak'd and crumbled away to their respective Habitations, confessing their Guilt and their Punishment; who, but just before, were rais'd above all Kings, and whose Actions began to make all Europe tremble.* Mr. *Whitlock*, who always preserves his Sobriety, speaks accordingly on this Occasion: *Thus this great Parliament, who had done such great Things, who had made themselves famous through all the World for their Undertakings, Actions and Successes, were overthrown and ruin'd by their Servants.*

Cromwel

Cromwel immediately summon'd a Convention by his own Authority, *illiterate, weak and obscure* Fellows, says *Echard*; Persons of *Fortune and Knowledge*, says *Whitlock*. The Cant of the Historian, concerning this Assembly, exceeds that of the *Enthusiasts* themselves; among the rest, he assures us, they were for taking away all *Tythes*, as the *Relicks of Judaism*. I wonder he had not made their Meeting to be in *Bedlam*; for *abrogating the Laws as Badges of the NORMAN CONQUEST*, for *suppressing UNIVERSITIES and all SCHOOLS as heathenish*, together with all *Titles of Honour*, as *not agreeing with CHRISTIAN PURITY*: He names some of these *Titles*, as *Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Rectors, Vicars and Curates*. To the contrary of this, Mr. *Whitlock* tells us, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and P. 545. Common-Council of London, petition'd this Parliament, *That the lawful Maintenance of Ministers may be confirm'd, and their just Properties preserv'd; that the Two Universities may be zealously countenanced and encouraged*; and the House order'd the Petitioners *Thanks for their good Affections*.

Upon the Dissolution of this Convention the Historian misrepresents it, saying, *Those that were for it, fearing that by delaying Time more Members might come in and outvote them*, mov'd, that all that were for dissolving the Parliament should rise and walk out; which the Majority did. Why all this Management? Had every Member that was against the Dissolution been present, the *Affirmative* would still have been by much the major Vote; but, I suppose, he gives it this Turn to make himself merry with the Expressions of some of the *Negative* Voices, such as *the Presence of the Lord, the Call of God, Jesus Christ, seeking the Lord, and the like*, which makes him laugh so that he can scarce

contain himself. To this he joins Colonel *White's* Speech; *Phob!* the Lord has not been here this twelve Years; another *Falo de se*, a self-murdering Sentence; very likely, that an old Rebel should exclude the divine Presence from the Time the grand Rebellion broke out. He picks up this Buffoonry from *Nelson*, and other such Writers, whose Hearsay is as good an Authority with him, as *Russworth's* Records.



CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Observations on Mr. Echard's History of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwel.

I Do not pretend to be writing the History of England, or to take notice of any Facts, which have not Indications of the Historian's Partiality, Malignity or Weakness; so the First I have to observe in this Period, is the Trial and Condemnation of Mr. Vowel and Mr. Gerrard, who were condemn'd for an *Assassination* Plot to murder the Protector. He owns Gerrard had been with King Charles the Second in France, and his Majesty charg'd him to be sure *not to engage himself in any Conspiracy against Cromwel.* He adds, the King endeavour'd nothing more than to *divert and remove all Inclinations that Way.* Thus every thing that was done in his Favour, was without his Knowledge or Approbation, and his Friends had no Thanks for it. Notwithstanding all this, he confesses, p. 714. that the King allow'd an appointed Day for *several Insurrections*, himself waiting in Disguise at *Flushing*, to be ready upon Occasion. *Wilmot* was to rise in the North, *Wagstaffe* in the West, and others in other Places. The latter got

1654.

together some *West Saxon March-Beer Men*, now converted into *Octobrians*, and enter'd *Salisbury* to the Number of 500 Troopers, Horses and Mares. He seiz'd the Judges, and having the Power in his Hands, shew'd us immediately what is to be expected from such Men as *Wagstaffe*. Mr. *Echard* says, he resolv'd to have the two Judges and the High Sheriff of the County hang'd; but some being wiser than some, it was thought fit to let them alone, for fear of being hang'd themselves; and truly they were in a very fair way for it.

This Attempt, which had nothing in it but Rashness and Madness, might have produced wonderful Effects, to use Mr. *Echard's* own Words, IF it had been carry'd on with the same Rashness it was begun; tho' I allow this to be as good an IF as any in the Book, yet I cannot see how it could have had any other Effect than it had, which was not at all wonderful. 'Tis true, *Cromwel* had but an Army of 20000 Foot and 10000 Horse, veteran and victorious Troops, to contend with this stout Man *Wagstaffe*, and therefore was in the right to be so much frightened, as the Archdeacon says he was, upon hearing that Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* had open'd the Campaign, and made himself Master of *Salisbury* Assizes; when afterwards he and his Men ran away Westward, and were pursued by Captain *Crook*, they were so formidable, that that Captain chose rather to beg and pray them to surrender, than fight and force them to it: He has not a Body of 20 or 30 *Cavaliers* together in all his History, but they are the most dead-doing Creatures in the World, and the *Roundheads* run from them as Rabbits from a Ferret. The Account he gives of this dreadful Band is also contrary to the Fact, p. 714. "They marched into *Devonshire* without being join'd; Horse and
I " Men

“ Men were so tir’d, that one single Troop of
 “ Horse under Captain Crook being by Chance in
 “ those Parts follow’d them at a Distance, out
 “ of Fear or Respect, till they were so spent, that
 “ he rather *intreated* than *compell’d* them to sur-
 “ render.” Match me this in all the Histories,
 that ever were written, if you can, either for Sil-
 liness or Insincerity. Turn to *Whitlock*, p. 601.
 Captain Crook having *timely Intelligence*, not by
 Chance, *pursu’d them with his Troops*, not a single
 Troop, *overtook them, and after a sharp Conflict,*
routed them, not *intreated* them to surrender, *ta-*
king Penruddock, Jones, Grove, and 500 common
Persons Personers, Sir Joseph Wagstaffe with Diffi-
 culty escaping. Notwithstanding the Rout, Mr.
Echard affirms, Captain Crook promised *Penruddock*
 and *Grove* their Lives; but the bloody-minded
Cromwel would have their Heads, and others of
 the Prisoners were hang’d at *Exeter*, which one
 might easily have foreseen would be the End of
 such a *wild Business*; and one can’t say, that after
 an Insurrection is suppress’d by Arms, the hang-
 ing of the Criminals is an Effect of it to be won-
 der’d at.

We have in our Days seen the same mad Work,
 Riots and Insurrections against the best of Govern-
 ments, which has been obliged by it to keep regu-
 lar Forces to preserve the publick Peace; and
 then the very Faction that made those Forces abso-
 lutely necessary, cry’d out against them as an unneces-
 sary Burthen. *Oliver*, who was indeed a Tyrant and
 Usurper, but no Fool, as his Enemies found to their
 Cost, knew how to deal with such seditious restless
 Spirits, as *Whitlock* informs us, p. 618. “ He
 “ publish’d a Declaration of his Reasons for raising
 “ additional Forces to preserve the Peace from
 “ the new Plots and Attempts of the Enemies of
 “ the

“the Commonwealth; upon whom he resolves to
 “put the Charge which they have occasion’d, and
 “not upon the honest Party who have already so
 “much suffer’d.” Here the Historian exclaims,
 as the disaffected did lately, that the Royal Party
 was *decimated*, one in ten of ’em shot to Death;
 but he means only was to pay one Part in ten of
 their Income to the Publick, to defray the Charge
 they themselves had put it to: *A wicked and un-
 heard-of Order.* The Usurper in the raising of this
 Tax took great Care to have it effectually levy’d,
 which was scandalously done of him, according to
 the Historian; who informs us, that those who
 had compounded, those who had been pardon’d,
 those who were indemnify’d, were to pass under
 Decimation; a Term he makes use of, because
 in the Roman Usage and History it signify’d much
 the same as a Massacre.

The Design of the North, says he, which was
 thought much better prepar’d, inspir’d more peaceably;
 that is, there was only one Knight, Sir Henry
 Slingsby executed for it; Sir Richard Malreverer
 hardly escap’d. After this, King Charles, who
 was so earnest with his Friends in England not to
 engage in Plots, and was at the same time con-
 ceal’d at Flushing to come over and engage him-
 self with them, return’d from thence to Cologne,
 extremely afflicted for the Loss of so many honest
 Gentlemen. As for the honest Countrymen who
 were lost, the Archdeacon very modestly affirms
 they were sold for Slaves to the West-Indies;
 where they met with such Treatment, that few of
 them ever return’d to their Country. He has all
 the low Conceptions of Things which prevail a-
 mong the Vulgar: He thinks the Servants sent to
 the American Plantations fare exactly like the
 Slaves at *Maquinesse*, that they work in Chains,
 and

and feed as Dogs and Horses do; whereas, it is highly probable, that if these *West Country* Exiles never return'd to *England*, it was on the same Account that some of their Countrymen banish'd after *Monmouth's* Rebellion stay'd there as long as they liv'd, they got Money and Lands, and made better Fortunes than they ever could hope in *England*.

In his Relation of *Manning's* Plot we meet with the same Credibility. Every body knows *Oliver's* Secretary, Mr. *Thurloe*, was a sorry ignorant Blockhead, easily to be impos'd upon; therefore it is the Archdeacon tells us, he fill'd *Manning's* Pockets with Gold for writing him lying Letters about what was concerting at the Court of *Cologne*, what Insurrections were to be made in *England*, what Towns were to be seiz'd, and who were to seize them. He wrote to *Thurloe*, that the King was in *Zealand*, and other Matters: In all which, Mr. *Echard* assures us, there was not one Word of Truth, excepting that the King was in *Zealand*, which being no Secret could not be deny'd; yet the Bubble *Thurloe* swallow'd it all as Gospel, and was continually feeding *Manning* with Broad Pieces. A Narrative of *Manning's* Treason was publish'd; and tho' the poor Wretch, says he, only sold Lies to the Rebels, he was shot to Death. He had been a Servant to Sir *Edward Hyde*, who has told this Story as merrily, as if the Man had dy'd for it. He too makes *Thurloe* a Fool, and *Manning* a Wit, of a fruitful Brain. Mr. *Echard* affirms, that no body has told this Matter right but the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was *Manning's* Master. He adds, *Cromwell* grew angry after this, and the Royalists had nothing to expect from him but to be massacred or banish'd, nor could the

1655.

P. 715.

Presbyterians expect better Usage; tho' in latter Days *Presbyterians* and *Cromwellians* are synonymous Terms, and mean the very same Thing in most Country Sermons and Speeches at Visitations, and elsewhere. Every Line of p. 715. produces something prodigious and uncommon: The greatest Part of those that were decimated were such as never did, and never would have given the King a Penny; he knows the Insides of them; and were only reputed Royalists, because they were not Roundheads: They were Trimmers, and had not Courage enough to declare on the one side or the other; for which *Oliver* made them pay, and so did a wiser Man than he; one *Solon* of *Athens*, who said *Neutrals* in Time of civil Discord, were to be treated as Enemies: A very just Judgment; for these Men make their Market of the publick Calamities, and get on both sides, while both sides are losing. There was no need of taxing the Trimmers, according to our Historian and others, who represent their Party as the nine in ten; just as many as *Swift*, *Oldsworth*, and other Libellers made them in *Harley's* Time. Now to decimate the nine in ten, was abundantly sufficient to answer the Ends of the then Government; whose Party, together with the Trimmers, were but a tenth: Nay, the Arch-Libeller *L'Estrange*, one of the Archdeacon's favourite Authors, affirms, they were but a thirtieth Part of the Nation; in a word, they being the Odds to such a Degree, what Occasion is there for a Decimation of the Trimmers, who being not a tenth Part of the one in thirty, could hardly raise Tax-Money enough to pay *Crook's* single Troop of Horse. There's no Possibility of being serious amid so much Mirth, as the Historian furnishes one with. Again, p. 716. notwithstanding the Insurrections were suppress'd

suppress'd, *Oliver Cromwel* was so afraid of his Life, that he sent *privately* into *Switzerland* to raise a Regiment of *Switzers*; not publickly, as when King *Charles* the First sent for the *German* Horse over: He was cunninger than that; he would not issue an Order for 30000 l. out of the Treasury; but sends a Minister *incognito*, who was to bring over the Regiment *incognito*, and no body to know a word of the *Switzers* till they saw their *Whiskers* at *Whitehall-Gate*. I confess, considering whom he had to deal with, I cannot at all blame him for being on his Guard, and providing against *Assassination*. Since the Year 1688, we have had so many Plots from the same sort of Hands, that one can't but think the Protector was in the utmost Danger, and knew it perfectly well: However, his sending for *Swiss*, when he had as brave Soldiers of his own as any in the World, is as chimerical as the rest of it: His Design being discover'd, says the Historian, he had not the *Confidence to proceed in it*; he was a wonderful modest Person that's certain, and so bashful, the least Thing that is would put him out of Countenance.

'Tis a Miracle to me where these Men light upon such Memoirs; it can be from no body but the *Heath's*, the *Symond's*, the *Wagstaffe's*, and such out-of-the-way Historiographers; nay, I question whether any of these Inventors and Visionaries could furnish him with the following Tale, p. 716. so absurd and ridiculous, that it has not its Peer in History. " *Menasses Ben Israel* at the
" Head of some *Rabbi's*, was sent over by the *Jews*
" to offer 200000 Pound for their Re-admission,
" provided *Oliver* would give them *St. Paul's*
" Church for a *Synagogue*. Another *Felo de se*?
" The Offer of so much Money made his High-
" nefs

"ness look upon it as *the Cause of God*." How
 he banters the Protector! He's so witty he makes
 nothing of him. "But the Clergy and Laity
 "were so against it, that his religious Juggle did
 "not take Place: Besides, tho' these *Jews* pre-
 "tended Trade in Publick, yet privately their
 "Design was to discover whether *Oliver Cromwel*
 "was not the *Messias*. Here's *Judgment and Dis-*
 "cretion! And going to the Universities of *Cam-*
 "bridge, under Pretext of purchasing some He-
 "brew Manuscripts, they repair'd to *Huntington*,
 "where his Parents were born, to enquire strictly
 "after his Father, Grandfather, and so on to some
 "*Jewish* Tribe; but finding there was not likely
 "to be any Proof that he was of *Judab* or *Benja-*
 "min, they return'd without talking any more
 "to *Oliver* of the 200000 Pound." I have often
 insinuated, that there are as many weak and idle
 Stories in the Archdeacon's History, as untrue and
 unfair; and this is an unparall'd Instance of it,
 which will not bear Remark. We have had *Jews*
 ever since the *Restoration*: He affirms, they were
 never permitted in a *well-settled Monarchy*. Our
Monarchy is, God be thanked, *well-settled*; yet
Bury-Street and *Duke's-Place* are full of *Jews*.
 He adds, they engross the Trade of the Nation,
 and *impoverish* the Natives; which is as opposite
 to Truth, as *Judaism* is to Christianity. He seems
 to know as little of the Commerce of *England*, as
 of that of *Japan*; for there's nothing more cer-
 tain, than that the Trade of the Nation is in-
 creased by the *Jews*, and consequently the Na-
 tives enrich'd. The Traffick of *Jewels* and *Ex-*
changes may probably be engross'd by them in a
 great Measure; but as to all other Branches of
 Commerce, they have no more engross'd them,
 than he has engross'd the Veracity, Eloquence
 and

and Conduct requisite to History. He has another Objection to them which is more solid; and that is, the *English* would be apt to turn *Jews*, if they were admitted: They have been admitted above threescore Years, and I have not heard of one *Briton* who has been circumcised, but of many *Jews* who have been christen'd. He takes these fine Memorials from a *Frenchman*, without telling us his Name; perhaps, for that he is a *Jesuit* or Priest; tho' he needed not have been ashamed of it, after naming so many of his Historians, as he has done in his Prefaces.

The next Cause the Archdeacon undertakes against *Cromwel*, is that of the *Spaniards*, whom *Oliver* attack'd in the *West-Indies*, without declaring War, or giving the least Intimation, p. 717. and when he has the *English* in *Hispaniola*, he joins with the *Spaniards* against them, as if he thought them the better *Churchmen*. Thus, with seventy Men, he beats all *Venables* and *Pen's* Army of 10000: That Disgrace is imputed to the Indiscretion of *Venables*; and if both *Pen* and he had been hang'd for it, I believe it would have been no Disparagement to national Justice. Never was such an Army of *Europeans* in the New World before or since: It was conquered with less than half the Number at least in a Body, and there were Men enough to have driven the *Spaniards* from the *North* Sea into the *South*; but Disagreements, Misunderstandings and Jealousies among the Commanders, dispirited the Soldiers, and threw them into a Pannick, out of which it was not easy to recover them; however, the Conquest of *Jamaica* made some amends for the Disappointment at *Hispaniola*: *Cromwel* added something to the Dominions he had usurp'd; but what is become of *Brill* and the cautionary Towns in *Holland*,
what

what of *Amboyna* and *Poleroon* in the *East-Indies*, what of *Surinam* in the *West*, what of *Dunkirk* and *Tangier*?

I have frequently observed, that our Historian's Politicks are generally borrow'd from the *vulgar*, as is particularly that common Reflexion upon *Oliver's* joining with *France* against *Spain*; of which he says, it was *advantageous to himself, but ruinous to his Country*; not to enter into the Depths of Policy for fear of drowning; or to consider which, at that Time, was the most advantageous for the Publick; a Treaty with the House of *Austria* then very powerful and united; or with that of *Bourbon* then divided and in a Minority: The Judgment the Historian makes, is as the *Turks* judge, by Success. It appeared, when King *Charles* had sold *Dunkirk*, which *Cromwel* kept as a Security for *England*, and the *French* King had surpris'd many Cities and Provinces to a vast Increase of Empire, that a Treaty with *Spain* was more preferable for the Preservation of the Balance of Power. But was it possible for any such Thing as the Sale of *Dunkirk* to enter into such a Head as *Cromwel's*? He would as soon have sold *Portsmouth*; and had *Dunkirk* been kept still in *English* Hands, *Cromwel's French Treaty* would never have been complain'd of. Monsieur *Wiquetfort*, who was himself a Minister of State, and being a Foreigner, had nothing to corrupt his View in observing the Situation of Affairs in *England*, speaks thus of the Matter. The *Spanish* Ambassador us'd his utmost Endeavour with *Cromwel* to engage him in the Interest of the King his Master, even to the Offering him 100000 Crowns a Month, 200000 Crowns by way of Advance, and 20000 Men to assist the *English* to reconquer *Calice*. The Archdeacon never heard of these Things before

fore which is strange, considering he is the superior and uncommon Chronicler of his Time. *Oliver*, continues *Monlieur Wignefort*, rejected these Offers; and as he fear'd more the Neighbourhood of *France*, than he hop'd for Advantage from the languishing and remote Strength of *Spain*, he sided with the first, whose Friend he became, by that Means obliging the other to be so to the King of *Great Britain*. Why could not our Historian think of this, as well as a Man 500 Miles off? The Truth is, right Thinking is a hard Matter, where Bigotry and Interest, Pride and Vanity are in the Way.

The Archdeacon, and other Writers, whose Hearts are as *entirely English*, have done their utmost to make a Coward of *Cromwel*. And now, as well as in some other Places, he would make a Fool of him too. A Traytor to his Masters, and an Usurper in the Government, he most certainly was. But as to his Courage and Conduct, of all People in the World, those should vilify him the least, that were every where beaten and baffled by him.

When King *Charles the Ist* was sentenc'd by the *High Court of Justice*, the Historian inform'd us the Duke of *Richmond* had the Honour of offering his own Life for the King's. He repeats this glorious Circumstance in this Year's *Biograpby*. The Marquis of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*, according to him, had the same Honour; and I doubt not these noble Lords would really have laid down their own Heads to save the King's; but that such an Offer was actually made, or at least with a View of having it accepted, is equally absurd and romantick. What Turn would it

have serv'd *Oliver* and his Accomplices to take the Heads of these three Lords, if the King's had remain'd upon his Shoulders? What Law in the World, or what Practice of Nations, permits one Man to be executed for another? The famous Contest between *Orestes* and *Pylades* probably gave rise to all Incidents of that kind ever since.

I know now what is a moderate Subsistence for a *Divine*. The Archdeacon says *Dr. Usber* had such a Subsistence; and *Whitlocke*, that the Parliament settled 400 Pounds a Year upon him a few Months after the King's Death. That very learned and pious Prelate was at that time Minister of *Aldermary*, or some other Church in the City of *London*, and deserv'd very well whatever the Bounty of the State would have bestow'd upon him. After Archbishop *Usber's* Death, he mentions that of the infamous *Mr. Stephen Marshal*, Batchelor of Divinity, whom I have also mention'd in the first Volume; and gives us his word for it, that he dy'd mad and raving; which proves *Oliver*, who order'd him a pompous Burial in *Westminster Abby*, to be as much out of his Wits, as the Batchelor of Divinity. *A. Wood* calls him the Archflamen of the *Rebellious Rout*; and informs us, that his Body, together with several Womens, was by King *Charles* the Second's expresse Command dug up several Years after, and thrown into a Pit in the Abby Church-yard; as were also the Bodies of *Sir William Constable*, Colonel *Mackworth*, Admiral *Deane*, Admiral *Popham*, Colonel *Mel-drum*, *William Stroud*, Esq; *Thomas May*, Esq; and the last and most worthy General *Blake*, whose Corpse, instead of being dug up and thrown

thrown into a common Pit, which is shocking to read, and scandalous to History, deserv'd a Monument as lasting as Time. The *Oxonian A Wood* confesses he enjoys now no other Monument, but *what is reared by his Valour, which Time it self can hardly deface.* This Piece of History has no Parallel in the Stories of the *Goths, Vandals, Saracens, Turks and Mamalukes.* Barbarism it self has nothing so barbarous. The rude and painted *Britons* our Ancestors erected Mountains over the dead Bodies of their Captains. And let this Incident stand for ever in a History, which *Mr. Echard* sets forth as full of *Felicity and Glory.*

Strengthen'd by the Treaty with France, the Protector, says the Historian, had greater Encouragement to play the Tyrant at Home. Here, and in a hundred Places more, he represents *Oliver* as a fierce, false, cruel, covetous Wretch. *Whitlocke*, on the contrary, p. 608. assures us he was *good-natur'd*; and we shall see by and by how consistent this Tyranny of his is with the Character he himself gives him; tho' I must confess, I wish *these Men* had burnt all their Incense on their own Altars, and spent their Flattery and Imagination on their own Worthies, who stand in Need of it, and are more equal to their *Talents.* "The Protector now
"seem'd to be in the Height of his Glory,
"*Ech. p. 719.* more in Power and Dread both
"abroad and at home, than perhaps ever was
"any *English* Monarch before him. He per-
"form'd several great and laudable Things,
"He restor'd Justice, as well distributive as
"commutative, almost to its antient Dignity
"and Splendor. The Judges discharging
"their Duties without Covetousness, accord-

“ ing to Law and Equity; and the Laws
 “ having full and free Course in all Courts
 “ without Impediment or Delay.” *This is what*
be just now call’d playing the Tyrant. “ Mens
 “ Manners also seem’d to be really reform-
 “ ed, either by withdrawing the Fewel of
 “ Luxury, or through Fear of the antient
 “ Laws now reviv’d and put in Execution.
 “ His own Court was regulated, according
 “ to a most strict Discipline, where Drunk-
 “ enness, Whoredom and Bribery, were either
 “ banish’d or severely punish’d. *More Tyranny*
 “ *again.* Trade began to flourish and prosper,
 “ and several of the Arts of Peace to be cul-
 “ tivated throughout the Nation. Towards all
 “ who complied with his good Pleasure, and
 “ courted his Protection, he manifested great
 “ Civility, Generosity and Bounty. *More and*
 “ *more Tyranny.* No Man affected to seem
 “ more tender of the Clergy than him-
 “ self, tho’ he would not list himself in any
 “ particular Sect, saying, *It was his only Wish*
 “ *and Desire to see the Church in Peace, and all*
 “ *would gather into one Sheepfold, under one*
 “ *Shepherd, Jesus Christ, and mutually love one*
 “ *another.*” Oh, the tyrannical Spirit of this
 naughty Man! “ Tho’ the publick Use of the
 “ *Common-Prayer* was deny’d to the *Episcopal*
 “ Party, yet he allow’d the Use of their Rites
 “ in private Houses; and milder Courses were
 “ used than under the Tyranny of others, *such*
 “ *as Laud, Wren, Neile, &c.* No Prince seem’d
 “ to be Master of so much, and of such par-
 “ ticular Intelligence as himself.” The other
 Parts of this Character are so inconsistent with
 these, so mean and so trifling, that they seem
 to be thrown in only to spoil the Picture;

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neither

neither would he have so spoil'd it, had he not taken Delight in deform'd and ugly Pictures, wherein he frequently refines upon Nature, after his way of Refinement, and makes them worse than the Originals.

I was surpris'd to see this *Lemma* in his Margin, *A View of Cromwel's Government*; which being so full of Action, Counsel and Glory, was a Subject he must have forgotten since the Days of the *Plantagenets* and *Tudors*, with whom all Glory expir'd in this Kingdom; and tho' it blaz'd out again in the Time of the Republick and *Cromwel's* Usurpation, it was soon involv'd in Clouds and Darknes, and we see no more of that radiant Brightness till after the Revolution.

The History of *England*, from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Civil War, was a proper and delightful Subject for him, there being hardly any thing to do but in the spiritual Courts; but when Arms and Arts had retrieved the Honour of the Nation under the Commonwealth and *Cromwel*, when it became formidable abroad and flourishing at home, such History must seem very odd to him after that of the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission* Courts; after so many Proclamations, Canons, Prosecutions, Persecutions, &c. which are the Flowers and Graces of his Chronicle; and which, if I were to write the History of *England*, I would take no more Notice of than of Old *Lilly's* Almanacks, unless when it was necessary to shew from whence came all our Miseries for almost a whole Century.

Miles Syndercomb, another of their Assassines, was try'd for High Treason, having conspir'd the Death of *Oliver Cromwel*. The Chief Justice *Glynne*, says *Echard*, he will not say Lord Chief Justice, because he was not made with his good Liking; declar'd the Case of the Protector to be the same as a King, and the Statute of 25. *Edward III.* to be in Force; which perfectly shocks, to hear it said, that a Law made for the Preservation of the Person who possess'd the sovereign Power, should have any manner of Respect to the Person of *Cromwel*; who, as he said just before, was the most powerful of all *English* Monarchs. *Whitlock* speaks like a Man who knew something of the Matter. The Court declared, that by the Common Laws to compass the Death of the Chief Magistrate, by what Name soever he was call'd, whether Lord Protector or otherwise, is High Treason, and that the Statute of 25. *Edward III.* was only declaratory of the Common Law. But *Cromwel*, according to the Historian, was better pleas'd with his being poisoned before the Execution, than if he had rid himself of him by the Hangman. He was under the Reproach of causing him to be poison'd, as not daring to bring him to publick Justice. *Oliver* is afraid of *Syndercomb*; and yet there is not a reasonable Man acquainted with this Story, who believes he would have been afraid of the King himself, if he could have got him into his Power. Sure I am, his Majesty, and the wisest Heads about him, were of that Opinion.

The next Year brings on the Inauguration of the Lord Protector; the extraordinary Pomp of which was the Care and Contrivance of Cromwel and his Creatures, according to *Echard*: He resolved to do something for himself, and assigned the Care of it to several Persons. Contrary to this *Whitlock* informs us, A Committee of Parliament was appointed for the Solemnization and Publishing of his Highness's Acceptance of the Government as Protector, upon his refusing the Title of King. Though the Historian is very right in his Politicks, when he observes, that *Oliver's* assuming that Title would utterly have eradicated all future Hopes of the Royal Family; yet his History, as to the Measures taken to prevent it, is extremely pleasant. King *Charles* the Second sent several Persons over to England to use their utmost Interest with the Members of *Oliver's* Parliament, to prevent their conferring it upon him. They could not but have a prodigious Interest in an Assembly, which had pass'd an Act to disannul the Title of *Charles Stuart*, and made it High Treason to harbour any of them. That Prince's Counsellors must be worse than Cardinal *Mazarine* made them, if there is any Truth in what the Historian tells us. I don't believe any Man of Sense doubts of *Cromwel's* keeping Possession of the Crown as long as he liv'd, if he had accepted of it when offer'd to him; and if his Son had had his Father's Spirit and Genius, what would the Wisdom and Management of those Politick Counsellors have avail'd, or the Wisdom and Loyalty of *Monk*? The King's Interest
in

in *England* being sunk to a much lower Ebb than was the Pretender's, when he attempted an Invasion in *Queen Anne's* Time; they might have plotted and conspired, if they had had a hundred as wise Heads more, it would have amounted to just as much as *Penruddock's* or *Hewet's* Plots did; had not the Divisions and Distractions in the Counsels and Armies of *England* prepar'd the Way for *Monk's* supporting a Title, which he now in the most awful and solemn Manner renounc'd and abjur'd. Indeed, the Anarchy after *Oliver's* Death made every one weary of the Governments, which were continually changing Face, and glad to restore the old Form under *King Charles* the Second. He must have been a Madman, who would not have preferr'd Regularity to Confusion: And *Monk's* Work was made so very easy, that had his Capacity and Conduct been less still than it is said they were, it was hardly possible for him to have miscarry'd, when he had once prevail'd with his Conscience to break all Oaths and Covenants, to betray all Trusts, and renounce all Renunciations.

Mr. *Echard* over-does it in *Cromwel's* Inauguration, to make him prouder than he was. He will have it, 'twas all his own Seeking and Management, and we have proved it was the Parliament's doings: Nay, so fond were they of it, that they ordered the Master of the Ceremonies to notify it to foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, that they might do Honour to his Highness, and themselves, by assisting. It is a little hard that

that one can't have some Truth in such Trifles as these are; but so it is. They will allow nothing to be right in one Case, and nothing to be wrong in another. Nay, I question whether, if the Historian had had any Thing to say of *Archy*, the King's Fool, he would not have made him as wise a Man as the President of *Oliver's* Council, provided he had not affronted Archbishop *Land*.

The Description of King *Charles* and his Court at *Cologne*, p. 725. is superlatively modest and credible, the rather, for that we are pretty well satisfy'd his Majesty had not much Money to spend, or to spare, especially, if what we read of his Gallantries in *France* be true. The Reverend Author does not at all heighten the Offence given in those pious Times. By certain Fornications he alledges, there was but *One Case*, the charming Mrs. *Barlow*, the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother; and, in Excuse of that, he adds, *The World is too apt to think it not very criminal in a young Prince, and a Batchelor*. I do not mention this as the most deadly of all Sins, but to observe what Pains the Archdeacon takes to prove, that King *Charles* was a *Stranger*, as he affirms, to *Luxury and Voluptuousness*. This is nothing; and a little after he assures us, that for many Years before the King's Return, p. 770. he was so *chaste*, that, far from the least Appearance of Gallantry, or any amorous Expressions, those about him could bear no *Whispers of it*, but what was decent. *Double Entendres*. This would have been very handsome and exemplary, if it had been true. How does it agree with what he tells us of Sir *Richard Willis* and Colonel *Doleman's* Saying to General *Monk*. *If you call Home the* p. 757. *King, you will put the Government of the Kingdom under Pimps and Whores*: And a worthy Friend of Mr. *Echard's* heard Sir *William Morrice*, Secretary of State, say, with some Resentment, *Willis* and

and *Doleman* were the truest Prophets he ever met with in his Life. He might have eulogiz'd as much as he could, as in p. 725. on King *Charles's* Greatness of Mind, on his Knowledge of Men, on his Vigilance in Affairs, on his Temperance, and the like. But why all this Ado about his Chastity? For it might be prov'd upon him, that he sinks several Fornications to reduce them to One Case. We read in a *French* Treatise, Entitul'd, *Annales de la Cour, & de Paris*, that many Years before the King's Return, while he was at *Paris*, he gave one Lady only, at one Time, to the Value of 25000 Crowns in *China* Ware. And another *French* Author, speaking of the Amours of the amorous Duchefs of *Chatillon*, tells us, that Lady had laid her Snares for the King of *England*, and would have caught him, *Site Prince, qui n'aimoit pas la Campagnie sur tout en amour, ne se fut retire des qu'il ent appris qu'il y avoit tant de Monde*: If that Prince, who did not love Company, especially in an Amour, had not left her as soon as he found, that without Company he could have none with her. The History of the Duchefs of *Chatillon* is more than sufficient to satisfy one, that whoever kept her Company must hear more than a Whisper of Gallantry. It may easily be imagin'd, that a Book might be written on this Subject; and, surely, the Historian's Affectation, about his Majesty's extraordinary Chastity, must, therefore, appear to be unnecessary, if not impertinent.

Having clear'd King *Charles II.* from the Charge of Fornication, he insinuates, that *Oliver* was himself guilty of Whoring. I only say, he insinuates, and I do believe he would not have done it, but that there was a Whisper among the Vulgar, that *Cromwel* made a Cuckold of the Lord *Lauderdale's* Predecessor in *Wedlock*. The Duchefs of *Lauderdale*

dale was the Protector's particular Friend and Acquaintance, says the Archdeacon, p. 726. All the World knows what is meant by a Particular Female Friend, a Particular Female Acquaintance. The Particularity between them was so great, that he tells us she was employ'd to inveigle *Oliver* to send for the King, and give up the Sword to him; which being a *Hearsay* Story only, one may believe, or disbelieve, according to its Probability.

King *Charles* removing from *Cologne* to *Bruges*, it increas'd the Jealousy of the Usurper. The King can't wag, but it makes *Cromwel* look about him, especially upon Information, that his Majesty had rais'd four Regiments in *Flanders*, though the Historian does not acquaint us with the Funds appropriated to pay them. And now he thought fit to encourage his Friends in *England*: For you know, when he remov'd from *Cologne* to *Flushing*, it was just after he had discourag'd them, and earnestly intreated them not to engage in any Plot against the Protector; and he came to *Flushing* on Purpose, that, being nearer to them, he might slip over, and see how quietly they behav'd upon it. The King having at last chang'd his Mind, the Historian owns he allow'd those that would, to make themselves ready to join him, which certainly had been the Ruin of *Oliver* and his Arms, especially since he informs us, that Sir *Jeremy Whitchot* had bought the Place of *Warden* of the Fleet, on Purpose to let out the King's Friends, who were Prisoners, not for Debt, but with a Prospect of serving his Majesty in Jail better than out of it. Be these Men where they will, they are always upon Duty, and exercising their Zeal and Loyalty to the best Advantage.

While King *Charles* was in *Flanders*, he made Sir *Edward Hyde* Lord High Chancellor of *England*; a Place that could not then interrupt his

Lordship very much in the grand Work of the History of the *Rebellion*. As my Lord's Character for Moderation and Disinterest is pretty well known, so will this Passage be the more readily credited, p. 728. "Hyde was very unwilling to
 " take the Seal, till he was induc'd by the Persuasions of the King, and several others about
 " him.

Many were of Opinion, according to Mr. *Echard*, that, IF his Majesty had come over only with the Army of four Regiments which he had in *Flanders*, he would have been too hard for *Cromwel*, and all his Forces: For there were to be several Insurrections, which they might hope would not all end, as the others had done. *Oliver*, as we are told, knew of every Thing, and was so sensible himself of the Danger he was in from those four Regiments, that he enter'd upon darker Designs. The Term he makes use of, when the *Presbyterians* were going to fortify *Rumbald's* Malt-House at the *Rye*, against King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*. *Cromwel* form'd a Plot against the same two Royal Brothers, together with the Duke of *Gloucester*. Mr. *Echard* vouches, that 'twas really the Contrivance of *Oliver* and his Counsellors to assassinate the three Brothers all at once, because he durst not give them fair Battle. They were to be invited to come into *England* in a single Ship, to leave the four Regiments behind them in Hopes of being met by 500 Foot and 2000 Horse, on the Coast of *Sussex*, where, says the Archdeacon, the Real Design and Resolution was to shoot all the three Brothers slap Dead at their first Landing. This is the Man that hates *Fevre's History*, that never meddles with any Thing untrue or improbable, and whose Report has the Weight of a Record. *Oliver's Assassination Plot* was discover'd by Mr. *Morland*, Under Secretary to *Thurloe*, who
 was

was bubbl'd by every Body about him. *Morland* was brought over to the King's Interest by his Wife, a *French* Woman; and he took this Way to give his Majesty Notice of *Cromwel's* Conspiracy. He went to one Mr. *Henshaw*, a Prisoner in the *Tower*, for *Malignancy*, and dispatch'd him away to *Flanders*, in Company with the very *Warder* that kept him, paying both his and his Keeper's Charges. *Henshaw*, having his *Warder* along with him, could pass and re-pass at Pleasure; no Body could miss them. Thus his Majesty, being inform'd of the Plot, refus'd the flattering Invitation, and the false Promise of 2500 Horse and Foot. I was so delighted with this historical Fragment, that I could not help transcribing it, especially, because he tells us it was never in *Print* before; and the Name of the Man, whose Mouth he had it from, is Sir *John Talbot*. I am so impartial, that, if there's Glory due to several Persons, I share it equally among them, and lay every Man's Portion of Fame by itself. As Honour is due to Sir *John Talbot* for furnishing the Historians with such excellent Materials, so also is something coming to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, from whose *M.S.* the Archdeacon has taken that admirable Story of a *Design* carry'd one by one *Walsh*, a Prisoner in the *Fleet*, to set *Cromwel* and the *French* King together by the Ears, and restore King *Charles* in the Hurly-Burly: Such are the Agents they find out to carry on their Businesses.

As to Sir *Richard Willis's* Treachery, I can say little to it. If my Lord *Clarendon* has made a Traytor of him, and Mr. *Echard* will also have it so, I'll rather sacrifice that Cavalier's Reputation, than enter into a Debate with them about it.

The Archdeacon pleases himself with his *Biography* at the End of each *Annal* in his *General History*; He borrows it mostly from *A. Wood* the P. 6.

Oxonian, who rarely wants a good Word for a *Papist*, or a bad one for a *Presbyterian*. However, the Archdeacon does not think fit to content himself always with what *A. Wood* says; but adds, of his own, according as the Character is to be *whiten'd* or *blacken'd*. Last Year dy'd Mr. *John Hales*, of *Eaton*, who has the good Word of every Writer that mentions him, unless it be one *Robert Conald*, M. A. and *Thomas Long*, B. D. who undertook to answer his excellent Treatise, concerning *Schism* and *Schismatics*; by which it appears, that the *Presbyterians* are not so much in a State of Damnation, as the Writers and Preachers of the Historian's Kidney represent them; for which, Mr. *Hales's* Answerers treated him as a *Socinian*; that is, because he asserted the Doctrines of *Charity* and *Liberty*. He denied the Divinity of our Saviour. Mr. *Echard* tells us, he had Heterodox Notions: And *A. Wood* positively affirms, his Treatise was stolen from *Soci-nus*. But then the former adds, He cur'd himself of those Notions. He was his own Doctor: But, alas! he infected others with Moderation and Charity. The Venom still remains. *A. Wood* says, He was not his own Doctor, but that Archbishop *Laud* was the Physician that cur'd him. Dr. *Laud* sent for him, entered into a long Discourse with him, and brought him over to his Mind. Notwithstanding all which, we have good Reason to believe he was never cur'd at all, but liv'd and dy'd in the same generous and Christian Sentiments. 'Tis shame enough for the Age, that a Man of so great Merit shou'd be remov'd from his Preferments. *Andrew Marvel* expresses it much better than Mr. *Echard*. I reckon it not one of the least Ignominies of that Age, that so eminent a Person shou'd have been, by the Iniquity of the Times, reduc'd to those Necessities, under which

which he liv'd. As bad as those Times were, as guilty of *Injustice* and *Ingratitude*, and as low as Mr. Hales's Circumstances, the Archdeacon might have inform'd us, out of the Superfluity of his Sincerity, that much of the latter was due to Mr. Hales's own *Opiniatre* l^e. Mr. Penwarden, to whom his Fellowship of *Eaton* was given, went to him, and importun'd him to accept of his Resignation of the Place, which he would not do. One of the *Sidley's*, of *Kent*, invited him to live in his Family, with an Allowance of 100 l. per *Annum*, the keeping of two Horses, and a Servant's Dyet; but he refus'd that very handsome Offer; also being, says *A. Wood*, wedded to a *retir'd* and *studious* Life.

In the *Biography* of Dr. William Harvey, who discover'd the *Circulation of the Blood*, he informs us, the Doctor had written a *Practice* conformable to this *Thesis*; but the *Presbyterians* plundered him of his Papers, to the extraordinary Loss of the World. He only says, he was plunder'd. I myself lay it to the Charge of the *Presbyterians*; for none of *Goring's* or *Greenville's* Men cou'd have been 1658. so barbarous.

The next Year is opened with a List of *Oliver's* Lords; of whom he tells us, seven or eight were real Lords, eleven or twelve of 'em were real Earls, Viscounts, or Barons. About Twenty were of the Gentry. About Thirty of them were of the best Families in England. The rest were Officers of the Army; and I am willing to insert his Muster-Roll, that we may see by what Sort of Men his Heroes and Worthies were vanquish'd:

Col. Hewson, M. A.	A	Shoemaker.
Col. Pride,		Drayman.
Col. Barkstead,		Smith.
Col. Whalley,		Broken Clothier.
Col. Goffe,		Salter.
Col. Berry,		Woodmonger.
Col. Cooper,		Haberd. of Small Wares.

Of these, *Hewson*, the *Cobler*, might as well be made one of *Oliver's* other *House*, as a Master of Arts; which Title was bestow'd upon him by the University of Oxford. Mr. *Whitlocke*, speaking of *Cromwel's* Lords, says, *Among them were several Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of antient Families and good Estates; some Colonels and Officers of the Army.*

I have already observ'd, that the Air of the Archdeacon, with respect to the Heraldry of the Parliament, wou'd make one think he was himself of the first Quality, and most antique Family in England: That his Genealogy was of a-piece with the Gentry of *Merioneth* and *Montgomery*. It is foolish, when Gentlemen write thus of Gentlemen: But when Persons of *Courtesy*, *Characters* unknown in Antiquity, insult Men of Rank and Figure, it begets Indignation or Contempt. Might it not be said, how many *Haberdashers* of small Wares are to be found among the *B. A's.* and *M. A's*? Yet, wou'd it be seemly to reflect on a Whole Body for the Meanness of a Few? Trifling is as catching as mocking; and, if I offend that Way, 'tis by the Infection of the History.

Poor Lenthall, says the Historian, of the Speaker of the *House of Commons*, was almost out of his Wits for Joy, that *Oliver* made him one of his Lords, who were not at all agreeable to the *Lower House*; and *Oliver* took such Distaste at it,

it, that he swore two terrible Oaths, before he went to dissolve them: *By the Living God I will dissolve them*: And again, after his Speech to them, he swore, *By the Living God I do and must dissolve you*.

What follows is all Conjuring or secret History. One would think he had been in a *Wood too*, to find it out. "Tho' all Things seem'd to succeed, both at Home and Abroad; tho' *Oliver's* Power and Greatness were better establish'd than ever, yet he became daily more uneasy and unhappy, pursu'd and environ'd by all the direful Attendants of an Usurper and Tyrant. He never had his former and usual Serenity of Mind, either *lash'd* by the Furies of a guilty Conscience, or terrify'd with encreasing Dangers, from the Growth of his Greatness Abroad, and the better Establishment of his Power at Home." His Fears, according to the Archdeacon, are like those of a Person haunted, or walking in his Sleep: He starts at Shadows, and runs from his own, as his Enemies us'd to run from him. The chief Cause of all this Terror was a smart and surprizing Pamphlet, written by Col. *Titus*, call'd, *Killing no Murder*. It is certain, continues the Historian, *He knew of many Combinations to assassinate him by some who were no Friends to the King, Fifth Monarchy Men, and the like; of whom three Hundred form'd a Design to dethrone him*. Another such Plot was discover'd, carry'd on by Friends to the King; and, therefore, it is a formidable one; but I don't see in what, except in the Trial of the Conspirators. The first, Mr. *Mordaunt*, was found not guilty by the single Vote of Mr. *Lisle*, President of the High Court of Justice; for which, some of Mr. *Mordaunt's* Party gratefully murder'd him a Year or two after in *Swisserland*. Here the Historian

historian assures us, scarce any other Man ever escap'd, that was try'd before any *High Court of Justice*. Did not the *Earl of Norwich*, and *Sir John Owen* escape, according to his own Relation? And we shall find him, a Year or two hence, taking Pleasure in that Part of his Story; where there was hardly any thing heard of, but Hanging, Drawing, Quartering, for two or three Years together. At which, I was not in the least surpriz'd, and do expect nothing better from the Principles and Practices of *these Men*.

It had long been a crying Grievance, before the Civil War broke out, that the *London Clergy*, such as *Montague*, *Manwaring*, *Sibthorp*, preach'd up Tyranny and Persecution; which produc'd two Civil Wars: The first, between the King and his *Scots Subjects*: The second, between the King and the Parliament of *England*. The first, being purely on Account of Ceremony and Church Worship, was call'd, *The Bishops War*; and the Clergy are said to be the main Movers of it, by all creditable Writers. The Archdeacon will have his Revenge, and, therefore, puts Thunder and Lightning into the Mouths of the *Puritan Preachers* too. *All the Bloodshed and Confusion was chiefly brought about by the Pulpits*, p. 708. To prevent which, *Oliver* appointed *Select Commissioners*, call'd *Tryers*, or *Examiners of Ministers*, before they entered upon *Benefices*. I wonder how he came to let these *Tryers* go off so, considering what their Business was. It is the strangest Thing in the World, that he does not send *Rebellion*, *Sedition*, *Fanaticism*, *Heresy*, *Enthusiasm*, and the like, after them; especially since *Dr. Calamy* informs us what their Business was: *They did a great deal of good to the Church; they sav'd many a Congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers; from that Sort of Ministers*

nisters that either preach'd against a Holy Life, or preach'd as Men that never were acquainted with it. As to Preaching, I will have nothing to say of it: But, as to Writing, I know a History of Three Volumes, in Folio, where this Holiness of Life is represented as Dissimulation and Hypocrisy; and the very Terms, that express it, are ridicul'd as Cant and Nonsense. Dr. Calamy again; From all those that us'd the Ministry as a Common Trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a Soul. These Operations are, indeed, so very uncommon, that, if I cou'd hear of any, it wou'd tempt me to write a History on Purpose. Instead of such Pastors, Oliver's Tryers admitted none but able, serious Preachers, who liv'd a Godly Life. If I had been the Historiographer, I would not have forgiven these Examiners: 'Twas a very ill Precedent, and ought not to have been past by, without Animadversion. It must be own'd, tho' he has not disciplin'd them as Generals, he has fallen upon them severely in Particulars, as Mr. Marshal, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Sedgwick, and other Divines of the Order of the Tryers.

In the First Volume, I mention'd an Address of the Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers; which, Mr. Echard assures us, was sent over to King Charles II. in Flanders. He believes every Word of it; and his Reason is, that 'tis in my Lord Clarendon's History. I have often said, that Probability only wou'd satisfy me in their Histories, if they wou'd keep to it. I desire no more for their Facts, than for an Incident in a Play. But they will not humour us so far: We must take their Words, as the Papists do the Pope's; or we are Fanaticks and Schismaticks. Judge now, if there is any Probability in the following Address, and whether the Player has not over-acted

acted his Part. The very first Words are enough to detect it.

What have we done ; nay, what have we not done, which either hellish Policy was able to contrive, or brutish Power to execute. This the Non-conformists say of their own dear selves: We have ravish'd our Parliaments, we have de-flower'd the Virgin Liberty of our Nation : A Pack of lewd Rascals : We have put an Iron Toke on the Necks of our Countrymen. Turks, Tartars ! We have broken often repeated Oaths, Vows, Engagements, Covenants, Protestations : We have betray'd our Trusts ; we have lifted up our Hands to Heaven deceitfully ; we have added Hypocrisy to our Sins, and amidst all our Abominations, such as are too bad to be named among the worst of Heathens : We have not wanted Impudence to say, Let the Lord be glorified, Let Jesus Christ be exalted, Let the Saints be dignify'd, &c. I am weary of repeating it ; yet there's much more of it ; and a Prayer to the King to come over, and help them, Quakers, Anabaptists, Independents, p. 732.

We are come now to the Death of *Oliver* ; in which Account the Historian depends entirely on *Sir Philip Warwick*, who was told by some Body that shall be nameless, *Cromwel* was never, during his Sickness, Master of so much Reason as to appoint a Successor : He never knew what he did, nor cou'd his Servants find his Will ; which was forg'd by *Thurloe* the Secretary, and *Mr. Goodwin* the sawcy Minister, who procur'd other false Witnesses to testify the same. I can't imagine any one will believe there is such History as this in print ; and therefore I mark the Page in *Mr. Echard's*, 734. What Credit is to be given *Sir Philip Warwick* appears by this Passage ; and it wou'd be enough, if there were not so many more

more of the same Nature, to render his Testimony invalid, and prove the Poverty of his Genius. Mr. *Whitlocke*, contrary once more to the Historian and his Original, *Immediately upon Oliver's Death, the Council assembled; and being satisfy'd, that the Protector, in his Life-time, according to the Petition and Advice, had declared his Son Richard to be his Successor,* they ordered a Proclamation to be issu'd out, which began thus: "Whereas it hath pleased the most wise God, in his Providence, to take out of this World the most serene and renowned *Oliver*, late Lord Protector of the Commonwealth: And his *Highbness* having, in his Life-time, declared and appointed the most Noble and illustrious Lord *Richard*, eldest Son of his said late *Highbness* to succeed him." This Proclamation was sign'd by

Richard Chiverton, Lord Mayor,
Henry Laurence, Lord President,
Nathaniel Fiennes, Lord Keeper,
 Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*.

Philip, Lord Viscount *Lisle*.

Edward Montague, Earl of *Sandwich*.

Sir *Gilbert Pickering*.

Sir *Charles Wolseley*.

The Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*,

Edmund Prideaux, Esq;

Walter Strickland, Esq;

Major-General *Skippon*,

Sir *Oliver Fleming*,

and many more, who, it seems, had not so good Intelligence as Sir *Philip Warwick*, but were impos'd upon by Parson *Goodwin* and Secretary *Thurloe*, with a supposititious Usurper, as some others, not of so good Credit, even as *Thurloe* and

and Goodwin wou'd have palm'd upon us a Suppositious Prince, in whom some of the Admirers of the Earl of Clarendon's and Mr. Echard's Histories do still center the *divine, hereditary, unalienable, indefeasible* Right, according to the Tenor of the Oxford Decree.

The Archdeacon judicially remarks, that Oliver dy'd on the 3^d of September, according to the Prediction of Colonel Lyndsey, who was with Cromwel, when he made the Affignation with the Devil, in the Wood near Worcester. So far is he from being asham'd of this shameless Story, that you see he offers to confirm it by his own Authority, in bearing Testimony to the Truth of that poor Creature's Prophecy; the Belief of which witnesses powerfully to the Solidity of his Judgment.

Upon the News of Oliver's Death, Mr. Sterry, a Minister, desir'd his Brethren that were met, to pray for him not to be troubled, *He would be of much more Use to the People of God.* When these Men blaspheme, they always disguise themselves like Fanaticks and Enthusiasts, *being ascended to Heaven, at the Right Hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us.* This is another Passage that executes itself, and needs no Confutation. The least Degree of Discretion wou'd have prevented such Blunders as these.

In the Character of the deceas'd Usurper, the Historian lays about him rather like a Clown at Cudgel-Play, than a Master of Defence. He knocks him down at every Blow. If he lets him rise again, 'tis only that he may again knock him down. I have seen what several Foreigners have said of Oliver; and the worst Word he has had from the rankest Papist is, that he was a *brave wicked Man, a wicked Great Man*, and the like. The best I have read of him is in Baxter, and that is bad enough.

enough. He kept as much Honesty and Godliness, as his Cause and Interest would allow, and there they left him. It must be remember'd that this same Baxter, a Presbyterian, upbraided Cromwel to his Face with his Usurpation, in Hearing of the Lord Orrery; and yet, according to our Historian, every one of the Presbyterians were as great Rebels as Schismatics. Baxter spoke the plain Truth, a Text which the Archdeacon has split into a hundred Parts, divided, and subdivided, as if it was the most agreeable Subject he could write upon: Some People, they say, prefer a Stench to a Nosegay. For my Part, I can't hold my Nose over it so long, especially, when, to make it still more horrid and shocking, he has open'd the Coffin of the Defunct, and expos'd the Carcass in the most hideous Manner Imagination can form. How different is his Account of Cromwel from Bishop Sprat's, or John Dryden's.

And stanch the Blood by breathing of a Vein.

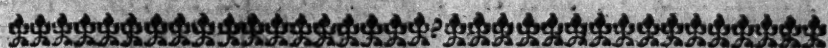
Dryden's Expression for the Murder of the King, in a Copy of Verses, which lifts Cromwel to the Skies, where the Archdeacon assures us, Mr. Sterry had seated him next to our Saviour. Mr. Waller did the same in two or three Poems, and they were neither of them Presbyterians. On the Occasion of the latter, to relieve the Reader a little, after so dismal a Story, I shall repeat what is said by the learned Menage Valers, Poete de Londres, fit un excellent Panegyrique de Cromwel. Quelques Annees apres il en fit un du Roy ou il ne recessit pas si bien le Roy s'en plaignant Valers luy dit Sire nos autres Poetes nous reussifions mieux en Fictions qu'en Veriter. "Waller, a London Poet, wrote an excellent Panegyrick on Cromwel; some Years after he wrote one upon the King, in which he

" did

“ did not succeed so well.” The King complain’d of it to *Waller*, who reply’d, “ Sir, the Poets do “ better in Fiction than in Truth.” We may turn over the History of the *Grand Rebellion*, and *Mr. Echard’s*, a hundred Times, before we shall light upon so gallant, and so witty an Expression.

In the *Biography* of this Year, the most extraordinary Thing is his Character of *Francis Rous*, Esq; a *Man of some Parts, but no great Understanding*, who was Speaker of the Little Parliament. *A. Wood* tells us, he was esteemed a *Man of Parts*. He wrote several Treatises in *Latin* and *English*; however, the same Author says, the Cavaliers call’d him, the Old *Illiterate Jew of Eaton*. There never were better Scolds than those Cavaliers: The Fishery at *Billingsgate* are nothing to ’em for calling of Names. *Mr. Rous* must needs be very *Illiterate and Jewish*, having had his Education at *Oxford*, and the Inns of Court, and having been a Member of Parliament for above thirty Years together. *A. Wood* will have it, that this *Jew* was Parson of a Christian Parish in *Cornwal*, where his Father, Sir *Anthony Rous*, and his Ancestors, had been seated many Centuries; He was a thorough-pac’d Puritan, Ech. p. 735. a profess’d Enemy to the Church of Christ, one of the Assembly of Divines, had a deep Hand in all Turns, and all the Calamities of the Nation. One would think he means the *Star-Chamber Court*, the *High-Commission-Court*, *Ship Money*, *Pressing of Soldiers*, and the like; but he means nothing less. He censures the Calamities of the Nation to the selling of Church-Lands, and the putting down Archbishops, Bishops, &c. ’Tis true, the Honour of *England* was retriev’d, after forty inglorious Years. Trade and Liberty, the greatest Felicities, flourish’d; but there was no Convocation, no Canons; the only Things, in his Judgment, which can

can make a People great and happy. Mr. Rous's Arms, which had been set up at *Eaton College*, of which he was *Provost*, were pull'd down, when the Corpse of General *Blake* was dug up, *those Arms being*, says another such Historian, *the Badges of damn'd Baseness and Rebellion*. Every little Cur can bark Rebellion, when the Cry is begun for them. This was the Cant on one Side; on the other, it was *seeking God, Grace, and Holiness*.



C H A P. VI.

Observations on Mr. Echard's History of ENGLAND, from the Protectorate of Richard Cromwel to the Restoration.

THE Times after *Cromwel's* Death are painted by the Archdeacon, as if Heaven had poured out Shame upon the English Nation; and truly, he has Cause enough for saying it, before he has done with his Chronicle: But the Nation had been so long us'd to have such Vials poured out upon them, since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that they were the better able to bear it.

Notwithstanding what has been said before, he assures us, it was known that *Oliver* had appointed *Fleetwood* to succeed him; the very same Man who gave it under his Hand, that he had appointed another, even his own eldest born Son *Richard*, as by the Proclamation abovemention'd, which he too has himself printed. *Infinite Addresses*, says Mr. *Echard*, were sent to *Richard Toiland* by him, with *Lives and Fortunes*. Upon which, I cannot forbear repeating a Saying of his that was told me by one who knew him very well. When *Richard* was betray'd, and abandon'd by his best Cousins

and Counsellors, and oblig'd to give up the Government, and leave *Whitehall*: The Household Goods were remov'd. A Servant coming for a Chest in a Room where himself was, the *abdicated* Protector cry'd out, *Take great Care of it, for it holds the Lives and Fortunes of all the good People of England*, alluding to these *Addresses*. There were some of the same stable Kind presented to King *Charles II.* when he left off governing by *Parliaments*; and they are recorded by the Arch-deacon, as one of the most glorious Triumphs of his Reign. He has pick'd up a Catalogue of the fine Things said upon *Oliver*, in the *Addresses* to *Richard*, *Moses*, *Zerubbabel*, *Joshua*, *Gideon*, *Elijah*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*. The *Addressers* to King *Charles II.* were not very well read in Scripture, and so they did not rise it so much as the *Addressers* to *Richard*. Those triumphant ones, mention'd and repeated by the Historian, were taken from *L' Estrange's* Tracts, *Oxford Decree*, *Rye-house Declaration*, and other the like authentick Pieces, and contain'd also many *precious Things*: As, the Address from the warlike and politick Earl of *Craven*, whose Father, I think, was the first Tradesman that ever was made a Peer of *England*. He, and his *Middlesex* Lieutenants, put the King in Mind, in the *Gazette*, *July 1683.* that the Whigs cut off King *Charles's* Head thirty-five Years ago, and beg him to hang, draw, and quarter *Covenanters and Republicans*, twenty or thirty Years after the Covenant and the Republick were routed and no more talk'd of. This Earl *Craven* and his Deputies would have the King also punish *Abjurors and Associators*, though a few Years after *Associations and Abjurations* were establish'd by Act of Parliament.

The High-Sheriff of *Cheshire* and his Men did aim a little at something like the old *Puritan Addresses*:

dresses : They call'd his Majesty, *The Light of this Our Israel*. They did not know that this same Light was in a *Popish Lantern*; they down upon their Knees and pray to God, *That all the Plagues*, that Heaven can shower down, might fall upon those who were for the *Exclusion Bill* for Charity and Christian Union. In the Address from *Wilton* you have *Devilish Conspiracy* follow'd by *Daily Prayers*; then *Conventicles and Associations*, *Damnable Plots*, *Blood-thirsty Assassins*, *Enthusiastick Villains*, *Hellish Miscreants*, *Diabolical Conspiracies*, *Traiterous Butchery*, *Villainous Parricides*, none but the Devil, *Protestant Atheists*, *Hellish upon Hellish*, *Devilish Plots*, *Schismatical Absenters*, *Conclave and Conventicle*, *Fanatical and Atheistical Massacres*, *Factions*, and *Desperate, Horrid, and Damnable*; to which is annex'd some scriptural Panegyrick : As, *The King's Ministers are faithful Husbands*, and some elegant Satyr on the most eminent of both Houses of Parliament : As, *Pestilent Achitophels*, *Damn'd Plotters*, *Damnable Devilish*, and again *Devilish Damnable*, all in a Breath, *Merciless Murderers*, *Diabolical Association*, &c. This is not the hundredth Part of King Charles Ild's Triumphs in these Addresses, to which *Richard's* cannot compare for Weight, whatever they may do for Number. But I cannot allow that the two Independent *Preachers*, *Goodwyn* and *Pye*, were Archbishops, as the Archdeacon intimates, p. 736.

I cannot imagine who could furnish him with the true Character of *Richard Cromwel*, that he was a *Plain Country Gentleman*. I knew him personally, and he was no more fit to make a *Justice of Peace* than a *Protector*, though very great Talents do not seem absolutely necessary to make a very great Justice. The only bold Saying I ever heard of him was, that, being once upbraided in Company for giving up so tamely, he reply'd,

What would you have me do? my Uncle and my Brother were both against me; if they would have stood by me, I would have had a Push for it, which, however, I very much question. He had a Son, Oliver Cromwel, who had something of the Grandfather in him; and he offer'd to raise a Regiment of Horse at the Revolution, if he might name his Officers. But the Earl of Derby, afterwards Duke of Leeds, and others, representing to King William that there might be Danger in his Name and Spirit, the Naming of his Officers was refus'd, and the Regiment not rais'd.

*Oliver's Funeral makes Way for the Reflection, with which he tags his Account of it. In two Years Time his monumental Pile was broken down, and the Body carry'd to a Place more proper for its Interment: He humbly means Tyburn. I have heard it remark'd by several, that they should have hang'd him, and made an Example of him eight or ten Years before; they should have beaten him, taken him, and truss'd him up, which he richly deserv'd from them. Mr. Echard could have told us a Story on this Matter, much better founded than Colonel Lyndsey's. One of Oliver's Daughters, the Countess of Falconbridge, walking in the Park, after her Father's Enemies had most victoriously taken him out of his Grave, a well-bred Cavalier coming and holding his Nose, as if the Stench of the Corpse, then hanging at Tyburn, offended him; the young Lady, who understood the Insult, retorted, *Had he been living, he would have made you smell stronger.* I tell it as *Hearsay*, and if it had been of more Consequence I should not have told it, though the Historian's Example would have justify'd me in building the Fate of Nations on no better Foundation.*

He begins the *Restoration* of the King from the Deposing of *Richard*, and the *Restoration* of the
Rump:

Rump : He always brings in his Cavaliers as so many Busy-Bodies, that will have a Hand in every Thing. He then informs us of an Insurrection-Plot, almost Universal; whereas, in Truth, had not *Monk*, directly contrary to a long, canting Address, which he, at this Time, sent from *Scotland* to the Parliament, betray'd those that trusted him, his Insurrections and Conspiracies would only have serv'd to shew the Rashness and Weakness of those that were concern'd in them; while there's any such Thing a-foot, the Historian puts the best Face upon it, and makes the most of it. Thus *Sir George Booth*, who had got a Body of Men together in *Cheshire*, is presently plac'd by him at the Head of an Army, which had the same Success as his other invincible Armies had had before, and still would have had, if Treachery had not done their Business better than Fighting.

Upon News of *Sir George* and his *Presbyterians* Rising, the Parliament, says *Echard*, was exceedingly alarm'd, and the Royalists apply'd to the Wife of the General who commanded their Forces, employ'd against *Sir George Booth*, to get him off from their Interest. The Historian is always ploughing with a *Heifer*. *Cromwel's* Wife, the Duke of *Lauderdale's* Wife, *Lambert's* Wife, are all Heifers of his; the latter was to persuade her Husband to turn Cavalier. This is certainly one of the deepest Secrets of History: These are Curtain-Counsels, and there's no Keeping any Thing from him, if he can find out what passes between Man and Wife behind the Curtain.

This wife Enterprize of *Sir George Booth*, being broken by *Lambert's* Forces, gives Occasion for sundry *IF's* and *Mights*, which he terms Reflections, as p. 743. Colonel *Zanchy* might have been beaten, before he join'd General *Lambert*. Colonel *Lillburn* might have been routed in *Yorkshire*, I F

any Body had come out of *Lancashire*. Many other little Parties *might* have been met and dispersed, IF there had been any one to have fought them, and the least Blow to the Enemy *might* have brought *effectual Accession to the Royalists*; which Political Remarks are some of the most edifying Parts of the Chronicle.

There are several Passages in his Book, which a discreet Author would have omitted; as particularly his Description of the Exiles, who were Abroad with the King in *Flanders*, and elsewhere: *A desperate Crew of ravenous, unreasonable Men, who, should they get in, would enslave you, and with your Goods maintain the Pomp and Pride of a luxurious Court.*

When he comes to print the *Abjuration Oath*, which was taken by all Officers, Civil and Military. He begins it thus: *I A. B. as usual.* Methinks it runs better thus: *I George Monk do hereby declare, that I do renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, &c. And that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to this Commonwealth, against any King, single Person, &c.* This Engagement was voted in *September*; and in *March*, General Monk engaged against the Commonwealth, for King *Charles II.*

The Historian assures us *Lenthal* wou'd not take the Engagement, not out of Scruple of Conscience, but because one *Kate Jabnson*, a Fortune-Teller, told him it shou'd be the worse for him if he did. You see the Historian descends so low as to borrow his Memoirs from a Gypsie. He mentions an Address from the Ministers of *Leicestershire*, that they had fought against Sir *George Booth*, and wou'd be faithful Servants to the Parliament. He adds, Twenty-four of them were turn'd out three Years after. Indeed, there were forty Ministers of that County driven from their Churches

Churches or Livings, to beg or starve; which shews what Improvements were made, both in Religion and Politicks after the Restoration.

We are now come to one of the most pitiful Pieces of History that ever was written, the *Anarchy* of the *Rump*, *Committee of Safety*, *Rump* again, *Long Parliament*, again *Council of State*: A Period so full of Division, Change, and Confusion, that 'tis impossible to read an Account of it without Indignation. I doubt not, the Historian is glad he is come at it, and the Truth is, it has put him into so good a Humour, that it holds him, till the Affair of *Magdalen College* gave him a Disgust to a Government, which, till then, is represented by him as a State of Felicity, infinitely above the Merit of this Protestant Nation. In the Force put upon the *Parliament*, by the *Soldiery*, he misrepresents the Fact, tho' there was not the least Occasion for it. Be it how it will, it was bad enough; only it proves that the Memoirs of these Men are bewitch'd, and the Truth not to be found in them.

Whitlocke's Account.

“ *Evelyn*, who com-
 “ manded the Life-
 “ Guards of the Parlia-
 “ ment, marching forth
 “ with his Troop, to
 “ do his Service, was
 “ met by *Lambert*, at
 “ *Scotland-Yard Gate*,
 “ and *Lambert* com-
 “ manded *Evelyn* to dis-
 “ mount, who thought
 “ it safest to obey; and
 “ tho' *Lambert* were on
 “ Foot, and none with

Eschard's Account.

“ The *Parliament*
 “ commanded two Re-
 “ giments of Foot, and
 “ four Troops of Horse,
 “ to appear at the Pa-
 “ lace-Yard. *Lambert*
 “ gathered together the
 “ rest of the Army,
 “ stopp'd all the Passages,
 “ and prevented Relief
 “ coming from the City.
 “ *Lambert* advanced
 “ near the *Parliament's*
 “ Forces, and stopp'd the
 “ *Speaker*,

Whitlocke's Account.

" him, yet *Evelyn*, at
 " the Head of his
 " Troop, dismounted at
 " his Command; and
 " his Troop also obey'd
 " *Lambert*, who drew
 " together some other
 " Forces, and placed
 " them along in *King-*
 " *street*, and near the
 " *Abbey Church*, and
 " *Yard*; and when the
 " *Speaker* came by in his
 " Coach, they stopp'd
 " him, and caus'd him
 " to return back.

Echard's Account.

" *Speaker*, who told the
 " Soldiers he was their
 " General, and expe-
 " cted Obedience; up-
 " on which, *Lambert*
 " rode up to the Cap-
 " tain of the Guard,
 " and pull'd him off his
 " Horse.

For my Part, I am surfeited with this History,
 which contains the poorest and most distasteful
 Events that can be related; the Insolence of Sol-
 diers; the Tameness of Senates; renouncing of
 Principles; changing of Sides and Measures; the
 Effects of Fear and Revenge: Opposites prevail-
 ing by turns. Zeal and Hypocrisy, Zeal and
 Profaneness, contending for Mastery. It was very
 plain, the *Rump* had neither Power nor Interest.
 The Soldiery cou'd not expect to maintain them-
 selves by a Military Government: Neither *Lam-*
bert nor *Fleetwood* saw any Likelihood of reviving
 the *Protectorate*; much less then cou'd *Monk* hope
 for it; which naturally threw him upon bargain-
 ing with the King, not for the Nation, but for
 himself: Besides, notwithstanding he had taken
 all Covenants and Oaths, and had spilt as much
 Blood of the Royalists, as most of the Parlia-
 ment's Generals; yet, from his Education and first
 Employments, one may reasonably enough con-
 jecture,

jecture, that he liked King *Charles's* Cause better than *Cromwel's*, or the *Rump's*; which being now at an End, there seemed to be no feasible one left, but the Restoration of that Prince; for *Monk* might as well expect to be chosen *Pope* as Protector, and was as fit for the One as the Other; tho' the Historian would make us believe, 'twas his own Fault he was not made King. All this History is set out by him with great Formality. And now, as to this General, he says gravely: *After all, we have the greatest Reasons to believe, that his Intentions to settle the Quiet of the Land were very early.* As soon as ever he observ'd that the Divisions in *England* would give him some Weight, which, God knows, was but very little before, and he appeared to act of himself, without the Historian's *After All's*: Every one, who had Eyes to see, saw plain enough what he was driving at; yet no Body had the Heart or the Authority to oppose him. All Publick Councils had been long under Infatuation; and when no Body else was likely to ruin the Parliament and Army, they very fairly ruined themselves, and gave *Monk* an Opportunity to make himself their Master, which is the whole Secret of the Restoration.

Lambert's, and even *Fleetwood's* Genius was much superior to *Monk's*; but they had not Courage to break through so many solemn and sacred Engagements, by which their Fidelity was bound to the Republick. There was no Fear of *Monk's* breaking thro' all of them, and a hundred more, if Occasion requir'd; and, therefore, he was the properest Person to be apply'd to. The Historian, in his Character, affirms, *He had no Fumes of Fanaticism in his Brains*, which I wonder at the more, because he was, at that very Time, a zealous Independent; and in his Letter to the Parliament,

ment, there are some Expressions which favour somewhat of a *Fanatick*: Your Restoration cannot be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful Manifestation of the Arm of God. Mr. *Echard* believes, that, when he said this, he intended to restore the King, for his Intention else cou'd not be early: This Letter being written about June, 1659. and that which he received from King *Charles* about nine Months after. The General again to the Parliament: You are the People by whom God, for so many Years, filled the World with so much Admiration and Terror; but tho' this great Work be wonderful in our Eyes, yet when we consider its Author, who calls Things that are not as if they were, bringeth down to the Pit, and raiseth up again: We see that nothing is difficult to Faith, and the Promises of God are sure and stable. We acknowledge we have, ourselves, very much contributed to those Provocations which have caus'd God to depart from our Israel. He has not one fanatical Fume in his Head: But we see God's Hour is come, and the Time of the People's Deliverance, even the set Time is at hand: He cometh skipping over all the Mountains of Sin and Unworthiness. This is not a Fume tho'. And we beseech the God of all our Mercies to heal our Backslidings, &c. He acknowledges, that the Parliament's Cause was the Cause of God; and yet a Year or two after, he hanged his good Friend *Scot* for being engaged in it: He being one of the Judges that condemned him and several Members of this Parliament to the Gallows, for this very Cause which he calls the Interest of God and his People. One Reason among many others, why he deserted this Cause, and espous'd that of the King, is told by Mr. *Echard*, p. 746. Dr. *Layburn*, another Fortune-Teller, predicted He shou'd restore the King with a wet Finger, or rather not

so much Blood should be spilt as if he cut it. A great Inducement to a Man who, he tells us, was wont to say of the Scots Coming into England in the Bishops War, 'Tis a foolish Thing to spare the Blood of them. P. 746.

If I had a Mind to read the History of General Monk, it should be in Dr. Gamble, or Dr. Webster; but having no Curiosity that Way, I shall be excused if I neglect Mr. Echard's as well as theirs, especially since I have no great Opinion of the Politicks made for a Man, after he had done his Business by Fortune; no more than I have of the Prophecies of Things after their Accomplishment, which the Archdeacon's Book abounds with. The History of General Monk, lately published by Dr. Webster, is, doubtless, a Rarity, tho' probably I shall never have the good Luck to see it: But why he has taken so much Pains about so stale a Story, when the General and his Family are almost forgotten, and no Body seem'd very solicitous to have their Memory revived, one can't imagine, without the same Degree of Understanding, which the reverend Author must be Master of, to attempt so noble an Undertaking.

The Historian informs us, the Parliament dreaded the Return of the King, which, without doubt, is very true: They were in no Condition to oppose him: Their Army was turned against them, and they were divided also among themselves: They had put the King's Father to Death, and kept himself out of his Dominions twelve Years. This, surely, was sufficient to raise Dread in them, especially since they knew what Treatment they must expect from the Temper of the King's Counsellors, tho' his Majesty was, of himself, one of the best temper'd Men in the World, till the Male Administration of his Ministers made himself and his Subjects equally uneasy.

The

The Secrecy of General *Monk*, which is so highly extoll'd by the Lord *Clarendon*, and after him by Mr. *Echard*, was not so unfathomable, but that every thinking Man reached the Bottom of it. Before he came out of *Scotland*, General *Fleetwood*, the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, and others, went to the Common-Council of *London*, and informed them his Design was to bring in the King: Nay, a Letter was sent him by the Officers of the Fleet, Sir *Richard Stainer*, Sir *Richard Hardock*, Sir *Christopher Myngs*, and twenty more, wherein they tell him, *None take Pleasure in your Proceedings, but Cavaliers, who make their Boast of you, and place their Confidence in you, which is irksome to us to bear; and we shall pray, that the Lord will preserve you from such a Reflection, as knowing that never any prospered that helped them;* which he had sworn not to do more than once, and called the Great God to witness.

In the mean time, Commissioners were sent by *Monk* from *Scotland*, to treat with the Committee of Safety in *England*; for which they had full Powers, and accordingly they made an Agreement; but he refused to stand by it; for it seems his Brother Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, who had a rich Parsonage in *Cornwall*, had been with him, as had also his Brother-in-Law Mr. *Clarges*, an Apothecary, and Col. *Talbot*. The Agreement was fully according to his Instructions, as *Whitlocke* informs us out of the Mouths of his own Commissioners. The first Article was, *That the pretended Title of Charles Stuart should be utterly renounced.* If he fully instructed his Agents to make this the first Article, what Ground had the Archdeacon to believe his Design was to restore the King much earlier, than his Instructions to renounce him? Not much above three Months before he agreed to his Restoration. What an Honour 'tis to have
written

written the Life of a Man of so much Integrity !

Monk call'd a Convention in *Scotland*, which, according to *Echard*, comply'd with him in all Things, particularly to raise Forces to join with his in *Scotland*. Contrary to this is *Mr. Whitlocke* again, p. 690. *Monk* had a Convention in *Scotland*, to whom he propounded, *That he had a Call from God and Man to march into England, to settle the Peace there; that in his Absence they would preserve the Peace in Scotland. To this they answered, That they could not engage for it. He again propounded, That if Troubles did arise, they would assist him: They answered, They were incapable of doing it, and it would be imprudent in them. The true History of these miserable Times is in Whitlocke. "No Quiet was enjoyed by any Party; all were at Work, and the King's Party very active. Every Man was guided by his own Fancy and Interest. Many wish'd themselves out of these daily Hazards, but knew not how to get free of them. Distractions were strangely high, and daily encreasing."* He then speaks of a long Conference between himself and General *Fleetwood*; wherein he endeavoured to persuade him to restore the King, which, said he, is *Monk's* Design, and that without any Terms for the *Parliament's* Friends; whereby all their Lives and Estates will be at the Mercy of the King and his Party, who were sufficiently enraged against them, and in need of repairing their broken Fortunes. In effect, he prevailed with him, and *Whitlocke* was to have gone to *Breda* to the King immediately; but *Fleetwood* was presently dissuaded from it by *Sir Henry Vane*, and others. What would have become of all General *Monk's* Policy and Secrecy, if *Whitlocke*, a Man of Reputation and Interest, had treated with

with the King, supported by *Fleetwood*, and the Army in *England*; he might probably have acted an Under Part, but would not have been in a Condition to dispute the Glory of it with such Men as *Whitlocke* and *Fleetwood*.

He told us before, that Colonel *Hewson* was a *Shoemaker*; and now he tells us he did not make *Shoes* well, p. 748. and so became Clerk to a *Small-Beer Brewer*, which, however, was sufficient to recommend him to a Master of Arts Degree in the University of *Oxford*.

In the next Page we are told some foreign News, and that is, the *Pyrenean Treaty*, from which, says the Archdeacon, his Majesty might justly promise himself some Advantage and Benefit. One Reason for his saying so must, surely, be the extraordinary Reception and good Usage of Mr. *Lockhart*, the *English Ambassador*, and Cardinal *Mazarine's* refusing to see the King, when he came to assist at the Treaty in Person: The Cardinal saying, *It would administer unseasonable Jealousy to the Parliament of England, without any Manner of Benefit to the King*: Which might easily have been foreseen by those about that Prince, who had been driven with him out of *France*, and knew very well what a mean Opinion Cardinal *Mazarine* had of their Interest in *England*. In the Relation of this rash Enterprize, he lets us into a Secret which takes away much from the Credit of King *Charles's* Counsellors, of whom the Cardinal said, *It is the Fate of this Prince, that he neither knows how to chuse for himself, nor has any one near him that is able to advise him*. My Lord *Clarendon* was near him, and whoever will read his History of the Rebellion, or what the Archdeacon has taken from him, will think there were not better Counsellors in Christendom. He informs us, the King sent the Marquess of *Ormond* to visit his
Eminence,

Eminence, he means Cardinal *Mazarine*, and desire him to let his Majesty see him, which his *Eminence* deny'd. Nay, *Mons. Wiquefers*, speaking of the *Pyrenean Treaty*, tells us, the Cardinal would not so much as speak to the Person that came from him, and waited at the Door of this Chief Minister, who had, at the same Time, daily Conferences with *Cromwel's Ambassador*. He adds, never was Usurpation so solemnly acknowledg'd as *Oliver's*. "He no sooner made himself Sovereign, under Quality of Protector, than all the Kings of the Earth prostrated themselves before him. Read *Lord Clarendon's*, and *Mr. Echard's Accounts of him*. To gratify him, the lawful King and his Brothers were driven out of these Kingdoms and Provinces, that ought to have serv'd them as Places of Refuge. *Lockhart*, his Ambassador, was not only receiv'd in *France* with all the Honours that could have been done to the Minister of the first Monarch of Christendom; but Cardinal *Mazarine* even refus'd to see the King of *Great Britain*, who had travell'd quite through the Kingdom to come to him, at the Foot of the *Pyrenean Hill*; where all, the dispossest King could obtain, was Leave for the Duke of *Ormond* to speak to him as he pass'd along, as if it were by Accident."

The Archdeacon is so extremely fond of Church Titles, that he affects to give *Mazarine* that of *Eminence*, almost in every Breath: So King *Charles the First* gave the Pope his Due in stiling him his *Holiness*: And I doubt not, the Historian wou'd have stiled *Mazarine* his *Godliness* too, had it been the Fashion. There is not much in this Remark; and indeed, if I had been to transact with such Sort of People, rather than miscarry in it, they should call themselves Reverences, Eminences,

nences, Holinesses, or what they pleas'd. But, perhaps, if I was a Minister of a Protestant Church, I should be shy of paying such Homage to Popish Tyranny, nor affect to compliment them with their arrogant Titles.

Dr. *Burnet* being at *Rome*, in the House of Cardinal *Howard*, his *English* Eminence notified it to his Holiness Pope *Odescalchi*, who deserved much better to be called so than the best of his Predecessors, for wishing well to the Revolution, which so many pretended Protestants have abhorred, and vilify'd in the Pulpit, and out of it. The Pope was desirous to see Dr. *Burnet*, whom he had heard so much Talk of, for his admirable History of the Reformation, which *Wharton* and other such reformed Divines have attacked without Reason or Modesty. Cardinal *Howard*, with Pleasure, told the Doctor of the Pope's Desire; but he excus'd himself for not accepting that Honour, on Account of the Ceremonial and Kissing the Apostolical Toe. His Holiness indulged Dr. *Burnet's* Scruple so far as to give him Audience a-Bed, under Pretence of Indisposition. This Cardinal *Howard* thought would be an agreeable Expedient; but the Doctor would not give into it, saying, *He had visited the Protestant Countries and Cities in his Travels, and had confirmed them in their Zeal for their Religion, which consisted very ill with the Ceremonies to be paid to the Pope, and the Title of Holiness indispensable in all Addresses to him.* The Pope was told it, and only said, *Phoo! he makes too much ado about it, or to that Effect.* Mr. *Echard* goes out of his Way, to be thus Ceremonious, and worships the Cardinal without Occasion. From the Frontiers of *France* King *Charles* proceeded to *Spain*, and made some Stay at *Fonterabia*, where he insinuates, that the King, the Earl of *Bristol*, and Sir *Henry*

Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, turn'd Papists : That he was a *Papist*, no Body questions ; and, considering his Zeal for Religion, it was one of the most impolitick Steps he ever took, to part with what *Protestantism* he had, when he was endeavouring to gain the Affections of the most rigid Protestants in Christendom. The *Secret*, says Mr. *Echard*, is not well discovered. Yes, yes, it is as well discovered, as that *Sacheverel* was condemned for Sedition, and *Paul* hanged for Treason. Besides, his Brother King *James* II'd's Strong Box ; there were others who knew of the King's Defection from *Protestantism*, as well as the Lord *Clarendon*, or the two Earls abovementioned. Sir *Allen Broderick*, at that Time with the King, kept a Journal, in which he set down the very Day and Circumstances of his Majesty's abjuring the most holy Religion of the Church of *England*, and embracing the Idolatry of that of *Rome*. Sir *Allen* declared as much on his Death Bed ; adding, the Lord *Colepepyr*, a Follower of the King's Fortunes, was absent when it was done ; and being informed of it after it was done, he fell into a violent Passion, telling the King, *He must never expect to see England again, if it should be known there*. The Author of a Treatise, entitul'd, *Plain English*, publish'd in the Year 1690. makes this Reflection upon it, *That Lord knew too much for a Protestant* ; and it was thought fatal to him, to have had no more Jealousy of a *Venison-Pasty*, than he had entertain'd of his Master.

That I have contented myself with Remarks on the *History of England* only, is not for want of sufficient Cause to do as much by the *History of the Grand Rebellion*, should I compare it with *Rusworth*, *Ludlow*, *Coke*, &c. The Difference between them is equal with that between *Whitlocke* and

and *Echard*. I know the Prepossession in Favour of the Lord *Clarendon's* Characters ; for, as to the History, I hardly ever heard it mention'd, but on Account of those Characters, or the Incidents which made Room for them. What I am about to repeat is, after *Echard*, who believes the Lord *Clarendon's* History to be a Sort of *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which none but a Priest could enter without Profanation. *The Particulars of the King's Conversion were well known to the Lord Clarendon ; who, though for good Reasons, he was tender in this Point, seems plainly to glance at it. If these Men do really know any Thing of true Religion, if they have common Sense and common Honesty, why do they not tell us, That to dissemble with God and Man is a Sin of the deepest Dye, and that there are no Good Reasons for a Man's gaining the whole World, if he loses his own Soul. A Minister of God's Word to say, there were good Reasons for the one to mock the Almighty, and the other to conceal it, to the Ruin of his Religion and Country ! If the Lord Clarendon knew the King was a Papist, why did he put him upon passing an Act to make it little less than Treason for any one to say so ? Very tender, indeed, of telling a Truth, which reflected so much on his Master and himself, as to establish the grossest Double Dealing by a Law. The Lord Clarendon writes, that Cardinal Mazarine told Don Lewis de Haro, It was rather Time for all Catholicks to unite to the breaking the Power of the Heretical Party, wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the King of England, who was himself one of his Catholicks. This is very fine History, is it not ? The Lord Clarendon knew King Charles had been perverted to Popery, and yet he seriously declares, that the adding Strength to him was to strengthen the Protestant Interest. What follows*

follows is, undoubtedly, copy'd Word for Word from the *Grand Rebellion*, because we find none but *Heroes and Saints, Great and Wise Men*, on his Lordship's Side. *It is believed by Wise Men, that somewhat in that Treaty was agreed to the Prejudice of the Protestant Religion, and that, in a short Time, there would have been much done against it, both in France and Germany, if there had not been a Popish King set over England, had it not been for the surprizing Revolution there, and the turning out the Protestant Powers, who had an Army of twenty-seven Thousand zealous Protestants, to vindicate their Zeal, and their Interest, upon Occasion. If this needs Observation, let the Reader make it himself, I will not run the Risque of being call'd impudent, sawcy, scurrilous, libellous, seditious, fanatical, schismatical, pragmatical, &c. as every Man is sure to be term'd by Mr. Echard and his Brethren, if he offers to object to a Tittle in that infallible History.*

The Truth is, King Charles, while he was at Paris, some Years before his Journey to *Fonterabia*, was either reconcil'd to Popery, or shew'd so much Disposition to it, that it alarm'd his Friends, as well Papists as others, insomuch that his *Eminence*, the Cardinal *de Retz*, advis'd him to the contrary, and to keep to the Religion of his own Country. Nay, the Earl of *Bristol* himself protested in the House of Commons, that He had given King Charles the same Advice which had been given to Henry IV. of France, If he would be truly Great, to be still more a Protestant than he was. All this weigh'd nothing with his Majesty, who became still more a Papist than his Lordship himself, who declar'd in Parliament He was of the Church of Rome, but not of the Court of Rome, though he was for Popery, he was not for Tyranny. And such Papists as that, I am sure, make

Des Maiz,
Coll. p.
138.

much better *English* Men than the Assertors of *Absolute Power, Passive Obedience, Unalienable, Indefeasible Succession*, and the like; which are some of the Pillars of the Archdeacon's Fabrick. Mr. Locke made this Judgment before me, *Thus much I shall say of the Roman Catholick Peers*, that if they were safe in their Estates, and yet kept out of Office, their Votes in that House would not be the most unsafe to England of any Sort of Men in it. What Sort of Men he means, I leave to the Archdeacon to judge, and whether he does not call them in another Place the *Dead Weight*.

I have affected to digress a little here to remember some Things, which are nearly related to what we are upon. *William Pen*, the Quaker, who knew the two *Royal Brothers* better than any of the Historian's Authorities, told me once, that, in a Visit to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, the very learned Bishop of *Worcester*, then Dean of *St. Paul's*, he ask'd him in Raillery, *If he had not heard the News from Court?* What News, reply'd the Doctor? *Why, that the Duchess of Cleveland, says William Pen, has left the Church of England, and join'd herself to that of Rome.* The Doctor answer'd, If the Church of *Rome* has got no more by her than the Church of *England* has lost, the Matter will not be much. This *Duchess of Cleveland* is the same Lady, who is said to have cuckolded her Husband the very Night of the *Restoration-Day*; but that being *secret History*, I leave it, out of Respect to the Archdeacon. However, 'tis not a Secret that she was the lewdest, as well as the fairest of all King *Charles's* Concubines. Mr. *Echard* would have excus'd me, if I had dealt more plainly with this *She Convert*, on Account of her being a profess'd Enemy to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and Friend to the Earl of *Bristol*.

I never

I never thought that the Historian understood *Foreign Politicks*, and the *Interest of Princes*, any more than the true *Interest of England*; but it appears, that I was mistaken: For, he informs us, that the Kings of *Spain* and *France* had been at War thirty Years without any Reason. I shall not undertake to determine that Matter, nor enter into the Detail of his Pumps and Splendors at the *Pyrenean Treaty*, because the *French* broke it almost as soon as they had sworn to keep it, and because our King *Charles II.* was so little taken Notice of there. The Archdeacon assures us, Cardinal *Mazarine* carry'd with him *twenty Archbishops and Bishops*, to shew the *Piety and Uprightness of the French King's Intentions*. If the *Sanctimonious Spaniards*, as he calls them, were deceiv'd by it, I question whether Mr. *Lockhart*, the *English Ambassador*, could have been so impos'd upon.

'Twill not be improper to observe here, how Mr. *Echard* reports an extraordinary *French Embassy* to *Oliver*, when the Duke *de Crequi* and *Mancini*, the Cardinal's Nephew, were sent over to him from *Dunkirk*. He tells us, after Dr. *Welwood*, it was to palliate a Design to keep him out of that City, which *Cromwel* had discover'd. I have nothing to say of the Design; but the Embassy was to return a Compliment of *Oliver's*, who had sent his Son-in-Law, the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge* to wait on the *French King*, then near the Coast of *Flanders*, and pay him those Civilities which *Sovereigns* are wont to shew one another on the like Occasions.

Being on the Subject of *Embassies*, I beg Leave to digress a little farther, if to relate what has Reference to my main Design, to shew the Vanity of the Pretences of such as are Enemies to our Constitution, be a Digression. 'Tis in all our Memories, that when *Harley* had some very bad Work

to do at *Utrecht*, he chose Dr. *John Robinson*, Bishop of *Bristol*, to be his Ambassador; and the Doctor very readily accepted of it, as Dr. *William Fuxon* did before of the Lord High-Treasurer's Staff, for which he is so highly commended by the Archdeacon. The learned and noble *Monf. Wiquefort*, in his Treatise of Ambassadors, has a Chapter, *Whether Clergymen are proper for Embassies*, and gives it directly in the Negative. The Historian, doubtless, knows much better than this Privy-Counsellor: However, I will venture to quote him, for that will give us an Idea of the Piety and Wisdom of those Divines, who set their Hearts so much on Honours, Riches, Powers.

“ Since some Bishops are at the same Time Princes and Prelates, the other Clergy follow their Example, and imitate the Liberty they take to meddle with all Sorts of Affairs without Distinction; but there are some among them, who look upon it to be against God's Commands, and contrary to the Precepts of Christianity.”

When they made Dr. *Robinson* an Ambassador and Plenipotentiary, they made several Ministers of Parishes *Justices of the Peace* in several Parts of *England*; which gave great Satisfaction to the Archdeacon, as being a Revival of *Laud's* excellent Administration, when spiritual and temporal Commissions went Hand in Hand. *Hudibras* burlesques this Double Capacity; but Archbishop *Laud* rejoic'd in that triumphant State of the Church. *Monf. de Wiquefort* again, “ God would not allow the *Levites* to have any Share with the other Tribes, that their Assiduity and constant Attendance on the Service of the Altar might not be interrupted by the Care they would be oblig'd to take, to till their Lands and preserve their Estates. It is for this Reason, he also says, “ *He will be their Portion and their Inheritance.*”

“ Our

“ Our Lord Jesus Christ says also, *His Kingdom is not of this World* ; that those who will follow him must renounce all Things, and cast off all Sollicitude for temporal Goods, that they may, with less Incumbrance, travel in the Path they are to follow during the whole Course of their Lives ; that he, who has once set his Hand to the Plough, must not look back ; and that he, who has once dedicated himself to the spiritual Ministry, is no more to intermeddle with the Affairs of the World. There is no serving of two Masters, nor dividing the Heart which has been once given, and entirely devoted to God. At *Venice*, the *Clergy* have no Share in the Management of State Affairs ; and it is admirable, that Princes still employ *Prelates*, &c.”

’Tis much more admirable that Prelates and Priests, such as Dr. *Juxon* and Mr. *Echard*, should not know their Profession, and the Duty of it, so well as a *Layman* and a Gentleman. Archbishop *Laud* had, before *Juxon*, been a Manager of the Treasury, and seems to have resign’d his Place to him, on Purpose to have more Leisure to attend the formidable Court of *Star-Chamber*, where so many pious Ministers were so unrighteously and inhumanely dealt by.

The next remarkable Event in the Chronicle is the Duke of *Tork*’s marrying Mrs. *Hyde*, the Chancellor’s Daughter, who, the Writer tells us *knew no more of it than the King his Master* ; which every one will believe at Sight ; and that no Author has been so exact and particular in writing it as himself, which I also do verily believe.

Monk, he tells us, p. 752. was a cunning Man, and watched *Lambert* as a Cat watches a Mouse ; which I think is enough for a Paragraph or two, tho’ he adds to it a Piece of *Secret History* again,

Vol. II.
p. 780.

about Mr. *Bowles* the Presbyterian Parson's corresponding with him. This too, he tells us, is told by no other Writer. Indeed, the Circumstance of Mr. *Fairfax's* riding three hundred Miles without sleeping, except in a Chair, is not mentioned; but Mr. *Bowles's* Negotiations, for restoring the King, were no News to us. Dr. *Calamy*, long before, had given us an Account of it. "Mr. *Bowles's* great Activity and Interest were seen about the Great Revolution in 1660, when the General past thro' *Yorkshire*, where most of the Gentry of the County, with the Lord *Fairfax* at the Head of them, addressed to him for a Free Parliament; which Address was the Pattern of all the rest that followed in other Counties. It must be own'd, this was a Critical Fact, and one main Cause of the King's Restoration." He adds, *Had not he and his Brethren bestirred themselves, Episcopacy had never been restored.* If I should tell any rural Vicar or Curate, that the *Presbyterians* brought in Bishops, how he would stare, and think me the greatest Lyar on this Side the Moon? I am apt to believe the Archdeacon himself will be astonished at it. How contrary is this to nine Parts in ten of the 30th of *January* Sermons in Country Pulpits, from one End of *England* to the other. Mr. *Echard* calls Mr. *Bowles*, a *Worthy Minister* of *Tork*, and he gives him no more than his due; but, as busy as he had been to serve the Monarchy and Episcopacy, it did not hinder his being turn'd out of his Church, soon after the Restoration. In whatever Ground Ingratitude grows, we may be sure the rankest Vices thrive there. The Archdeacon informs us, he was so over officious, that in a Conference with *Monk*, at Midnight, he went farther than a *Free Parliament*, and urged him to stay at *Tork*, and declare for

for the King, assuring him of great Assistance. It was almost three Years after that Mr. Bowles was stripp'd of all, for these his good Offices.

Much was expected, says the Historian, from the Interview between the Lord *Fairfax* and General *Monk*, on Account of their *Taciturnity*, and saying Nothing : But, as to the General's answering any such Expectations, how was it practicable, when his Eyes, as well as his Mouth, were shut ? Mr. *Echard* telling us, *He slept till he got within London Walls, and then he open'd his Eyes.*

In the Progress of General *Monk*, we meet with so much Depth of Counsel, that 'tis a Comfort to one to find we had such a Man amongst us. Col. *Ingoldsby*, who afterwards took *Lambert* Prisoner, would fain have persuaded *Whitlocke* to have carry'd the *Great Seal* away to the King, while *Monk* was in the *North* ; but tho' that Gentleman had advis'd General *Fleetwood* to restore his Majesty, yet he cou'd not bring himself to dissemble and betray his Trust.

The Rump being restored once more, they made Mr. *Scot* Secretary of State, and sent him and another of their Members, Mr. *Luke Robinson*, to meet the General in his March to *London* ; accordingly they were received by him very graciously near *Leicester*. He alighted from his Horse to salute them, and went with them in their Coach to the Town ; where he express'd the Heighth of Respect to Mr. *Scot* and his Brother *Robinson*, as we are told by *Whitlocke* : And what he did with poor *Scot* next Year has been already mentioned. If I had been one of the Judges who fate upon *Scot*, I must have done as they did, and delivered him over to the Hangman ; but if, like *Monk*, I had taken the same Oaths, and fought for the same Cause, which *Scot* was hang'd for,

I could not have had the Face to sit upon the Bench, when my good Friend was at the Bar.

About the same Time, the Archdeacon informs us, that one Mr. Gumble, another most excellent Historian, and the General's Chaplain, came to *Leicester*, having been privately at *London*. Here's nothing but Myſtery. The General himself sleeps all the while he's marching; his Army marches *incognito*, as another was quartered at *Knightſ-bridge*, and these Men do their Business like Moles under Ground. Let us now see, how privately it was. On the 12th of January, See *Whitl. p. 644*. Mr. Gumble brought Letters to the Parliament from the General at *Newcastle*, and they ordered him One Hundred Pounds as a Gratuity: They also recommended him to be a Fellow of *Eaton College*; all which might be done so very privately that no Body shou'd know a Word of it.

At *St. Albans* the General stay'd four Days, to remove a particular Impediment: Ten or twelve Regiments of Horse and Foot then in and about the City of *London*, which he was not very sure of, and wrote to the Parliament to dispose of them otherwise. He makes a Mountain of this Mole-hill, or as he stiles it much better, this particular Impediment. *Whitlocke* says only, Upon Letters from Monk, the House agreed to the Quartering of Soldiers as he propounded.

The General, being come to *London*, was introduced into the Parliament House, by the above-mentioned Mr. Scot; he made a Speech to the Parliament, and a long one too, for a Man who hated speaking. In some Passages of it will be seen, what Reasons Mr. Echard had to believe he had early Designs to restore the King. This Speech was the 6th of *February*; and about a Month afterwards he spoke to Sir *John Greenville*, who brought

brought him a Letter from the King. *Monk* extoll'd the Mercy of God in restoring the Parliament, and acknowledg'd the Almighty's Goodness to him, in making him instrumental therein, which was but his Duty: He said, All Men ought to acquiesce in their Judgment: And as to the Oaths to abjure *Charles Stuart*, he added, Our Parliament had admitted new Members to sit without a previous Engagement; he hop'd they wou'd be careful that the Cavalier Party have no Share in the Civil or Military Power: Upon which the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* remarks, How he himself pursued what he pretended will afterwards appear, especially in the Tryals and Executions of several of the Leaders of this Assembly. All the first Part of this Speech is left out by the Historian. The Reason is too plain to be mentioned; it being a horrid mocking of God to thank him for restoring a Power, which he himself a few Days after broke to Pieces. He assures us he declin'd the Abjuration Oath; but he does not tell us it was a new Oath that he declined; and that he cou'd not have kept his Command in the Army, if he had not taken the Abjuration Oath made in the Protector's Time. *Whitl. p. 644.*

Every Step taken by the reigning Powers, after *Monk's* Arrival, discovered the Confusion they were in, and encourag'd him to listen to those that talk'd of re-admitting the *Secluded Members*, which of Course made Way for the King, most of them being against the Death of his Father. The *Common Council* of London gave Jealousy to the *Rump* by their Behaviour, which is represented in different Manners by Mr. *Whitlocke* and Mr. *Echard*; but both agree that the General was ordered to pull down the Gates and *Portcullises* of the City, which he perform'd to the great Surprise of those that thought the King's Friends were

were sure of him: And the Historian informs us, Sir *Artbur Haselrigge* cry'd out, upon his doing it, *All is our own, he will be honest.* Here again, the Archdeacon endeavours to prove the General to be a *cunning* Man, by the Hearsay of one *Parson Price*, another of *Monk's* Chaplains, who affirms, that the demolishing of the City Gates, &c. was the General's own Contrivance, *Monk* telling him afterwards, *This was a Trick you knew not of. I assure you I could not have done any Business so soon without it, and possibly not at all.* It is pity *Monk* never said, and never cou'd say a Word of it; for in truth, he was so far from contriving it, that the *Parliament* at first did not employ him about it. *Whitlocke* tells us, that finding the *Common-Council* generally inclin'd to bring in the King, they voted,

“ That the Commissioners for Government of
 “ the Army do appoint Forces to be in *London*,
 “ for preserving the Peace thereof, and of the
 “ Commonwealth, and for the reducing of the
 “ City to the Obedience of the Parliament; and
 “ that the Commissioners take Care that the
 “ Posts and Chains of *London* be taken away, and
 “ the Gates of the City be forthwith destroy'd.

Monk was offended that the Order was not directed to himself; and upon a Letter from him *Whitlocke* writes, The Parliament ordered their *Vote* to be sent to him, and that he himself shou'd see it executed. Again, “ *Monk* was not well
 “ satisfy'd that this Order was before directed
 “ to the Commissioners of the Army, himself
 “ not named therein.” When according to *Price* he was the *Wheel within the Wheel*, and contrived the whole Business, to be left out as a *Cypher*, was a hard Case, and enough to make him angry.

Notwithstanding his early Design to restore the King, it was believed, says *Echard*, I F the Par-
 liament

liament had cultivated his tame Resignation with any Temper and Discretion, by preparing his Approbation to their Proceedings, they might have found a full Compliance ; but they were hoodwink'd by Pride and Insolence. This IF is entirely contradictory to what he had already told us, of *Monk's* being before-hand in the *Restoration* ; for he could not intend at once to betray them, and to serve them as he would have done, IF they had humour'd him according to the History.

His *Earlinefs* is also again contradicted by his own Account, of Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper's* preventing *Monk's* usurping the Government himself, at the Persuasion of *Bourdeaux*, the *French* Ambassador, though, God knows, he could not have kept it so long as *Dick Cromwel* did. Another Sort of Genius is necessary to form an Usurper ; Bluntness and Taciturnity may do well enough for a Captain of a Bomb-Ship, but are not the Qualities of a Chief Magistrate. The Story of the *French* Ambassador's dabbling with him is told by Mr. *Locke*, whose Authority is so infinitely superior to any of the Archdeacon's Writers, that one cannot help crediting it. Mr. *Locke's* Learning, Capacity, Judgment and Veracity leave no Room for Suspicion : And he asserts positively, that *Monk* did agree with *Bourdeaux* to keep King *Charles* out, and seat himself on the Throne, not as descended from the Bastard, *Viscount Lisle*, but as *Oliver* did, having a *Veteran Army* to stand by him. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* had Notice of this Intrigue, and communicated it to the Council of State, of which he was a Member, charging *Monk* with Treachery before them ; which he denying, and offering to give them any Proofs of his Fidelity which they could desire : Sir *Anthony*, who had got all the Council of his Side, apprehending he

he was only shuffling to get away, demanded, that the Commissions of several Officers of the Army, his Creatures, should be immediately taken away, and given to others, before he went out of the Room. *Monk*, who, *Mr. Locke* says, *was no quick Man*, was afraid what they would do with him, being in their Power, consented to what was proposed, and changed the Commissions as the Council would have him. *Sir Edward Harley*, one of them, was made Governor of *Dunkirk*; and other *Presbyterians*, who were zealous for the King's Restoration, were put at the Head of Regiments, by which Means, *Mr. Locke* tells us, *the Army ceas'd to be at Monk's Devotion. And this was that which gave the great Return to the Restoring of the King, of which Sir Anthony had lain the Plan in his Head a long Time before; and how he was rewarded for it, will be seen in Mr. Echard's History of the next Reign, especially when he was hal'd away to the Old Bailey, and his Life endeavour'd to be taken away by Perjury and Subornation.* We remember what the Historian said, *After all we have the greatest Reasons to believe that General Monk, a great while ago, intended to restore the King; and we see now, that if it had been no Body's Intention but his, it had, surely, never been done.*

The next secret Negotiation of *Monk's* is between him and *Father Ruffel*, accompany'd with the *Envoy of Portugal*, to propose a Match between the *Infanta* and the King, even before he was come to a Resolution to restore him. The General being fully appriz'd by the Jesuit of the great Advantage of an Alliance with *Portugal*, especially to the increasing the Riches of the Nation, and humbling the Power of *Spain*, clos'd entirely with the *Portugueze Match*, and concluded a Treaty, by which he oblig'd King *Charles* to
marry

marry the Princess of *Portugal*, like her, or not like her : And when he came Home, he immediately and effectually told him what he had done for him. Here again the Historian boasts that his Memoirs are contrary to the *Common Accounts*, as in Truth this is, in a very particular Manner ; and so far from being true, that the Treaty was neither concluded, nor the King effectually told it, as we are assur'd by as Orthodox a Man as the Archdeacon, which is a bold Word, and that is, *A. Wood of Oxford*. “ A Year after the King’s Vol. II.
 “ Return, King *Charles II.* sent *George Digby*, p. 579.
 “ Earl of *Bristol*, and Knight of the Garter, to
 “ negotiate a Match for him with the Princess of
 “ *Parma*, and had almost brought it to Perfection ; but *Edward Earl of Clarendon* broke the
 “ Earl of *Bristol*’s Measures, by contriving the
 “ Match with *Katherine*, the *Infanta of Portugal* ; whereupon that Earl being thus fool’d, he
 “ prov’d a bitter Enemy to the Lord *Clarendon*,
 “ and engag’d *Barbara Palmer*, afterwards Duchess of *Cleveland*, to be his Enemy also ; so between them both he was at length ruin’d.”

Quite contrary to this is the Archdeacon’s Account of the *Portugal* Treaty and Marriage, which he positively affirms he has from *unquestionable Proofs out of good Manuscripts, and other sufficient Evidences*. Whereas there is so little Foundation for what he says, that, besides the King’s courting another Princess, *Whitlocke* tells us, the Council of State, and not General *Monk*, had the Management of the *Portugal* Treaty, and sign’d it in the Council-Chamber, at the same Time that ’twas sign’d there by the *Portugal* Ambassador.

I may probably, if I abound in Leisure, one Time or other, make a Collection of the *Uncommon Passages*, printed in no Book but *Mr. Echard’s* ; when they are view’d all together, *Manuscripts*
 and

and *Hearsays*, I will defy any Man, learned in History, to shew me the like in any Thing which goes by that Name.

The *Secluded* Members being restor'd two Months before the King, he tells us Sir George *Booth* was releas'd out of Prison, whereas he was releas'd two or three Months before the *Secluded* Members were re-admitted, *Whitl.* p. 691. and gave Security for his good Behaviour. He adds, that this Parliament being become numerous, the *Cavaliers* convers'd with them without Controul, and that they reviv'd the Vote, *That the late King's Concessions were a sufficient Ground for Peace.* So they did; as also another Vote, which is somewhat mutilated in the Chronicle. All *Militia* Officers shall declare, *That the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament*, which the Lord *Clarendon* calls the Grand REBELLION, and Mr. *Echard*, the two Houses of REBELS, in their Defence against the Force rais'd in the Name of the late King, was just and lawful. I will name some of the Members who promoted this Vote.

Arthur Annesley, Earl of *Anglesey*.

The Lord *Fairfax*.

The Lord *Crew*.

The Lord *Hollis*.

Edward Montagu, Earl of *Sandwich*.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of *Shaftsbury*.

Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*.

Sir *John Trevor*.

Alexander Popham, Esq;

William Pierrepont, Esq;

Sir *John Temple*.

Sir *Edward Harley*.

Sir *John Holland*.

Sir *John Evelyn*.

Sir *John Potts*.

Sir *Harbottle Grimston*.

And

And a House full of Members of the same Rank and Worth, whom Mr. *Echard* calls a detestable Assembly; and says, they were for nineteen Years together the Scourge of the Nation. A learned and noble Foreigner, condemning the *Dutch* for neglecting the Parliament's Envoy, has these Expressions, *They wanted not Means to resent it, and soon reveng'd it so cruelly, that the States had all the Reason in the World to repent the little Regard they had shewn to a Power, which made a great Part of Europe tremble.* And no People trembled more than those, who after their own Divisions had ruin'd them, which nothing else could have done, treated them, in their *Story Books* and *Libels*, as so many Rascals and Scoundrels.

Before they broke up, this Parliament voted, *To disable those who had assisted in the Irish Rebellion, or are Papists, to serve as Members of Parliament, as also those who had been in the War against the Parliament; which could not be just and lawful, if there was any Lawfulness and Justice in their former Vote.*

The only Objection I can have to Mr. *Echard's* History about General *Monk*, and the *French Man Bourdeaux*, is, that the latter was a Politician, and had mean Thoughts of the General. So much the better, you'll say: The meaner the Usurper, the more likely to do *France* no Hurt. Mr. *Whitlocke* informs us, that when *Monsf. Bourdeaux* had made his Visit to General *Monk*, he said to his Friends, he was *neither a Courtier nor Statesman.* *Monsf. Bourdeaux* did not understand Politicks so well as Dr. *Gumble*, Dr. *Price*, Dr. *Webster*, and Archdeacon *Echard*, who all of them vouch for him, that no Body could come near him for Policy, which they must needs be very good Judges of.



C H A P. VII.

Observations on Mr. Echard's History of King Charles II.

THE Writs for the Parliament, which was summon'd upon the Dissolution of the Long Parliament, and which brought in the King, ran in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of the Commonwealth of England*. But there was no Care taken that the *Disabling Vote* should be regarded; and immediately came News of the Election of Members *fit for the intended Business*, to use *Whitlooke's Words*, such as these:

Sir Solomon Swale, a	Sir Robert Paston.
Papist.	Sir Robert Holt.
Sir John Stonehouse.	Sir Clement Tbrogmorton.
Lord Bulkley.	Sir Francis Lawley.
Sir William Courtney.	Sir Richard Everich.
Lord Falkland.	Sir John Fitzjames.
Sir Ralph Verney.	Sir Henry Crofts.
Sir John Carew.	Sir Edward Turner.
Sir Dudley North.	Sir Edward Mansel.
Sir Thomas Willis.	Sir Frederick Hyde.
Sir John Shaw.	Sir Cyril Wyche.
Sir Ralph Banks.	Lord Strangford.
Lord Cavendish.	Sir John Tuston.
Sir John Northcot.	Sir Roger Bradshaw.
Lord Seymour.	Sir Charles Wray.
Lord Herbert.	Sir George Castleton.
Lord Mansfield.	Sir George Saunderson.
Sir Charles Willoughby.	Sir Thomas Meers.
Sir Henry North.	Sir John Robinson.
Sir Henry Felton.	Sir William Tredenham.

Sir

Sir George Saville.

Sir Thomas Clifford.

Sir Christopher Wyville.

Sir Philip Warwick.

Sir Hugh Smyth.

Sir Thomas Osborn.

Sir Thomas Bludworth.

Sir Henry Pickering.

Sir Robert Strapcot.

Sir Thomas Spencer.

I have inserted the Names of these Members, to excuse those Gentlemen of this Representative, who were willing to look before they leap'd, and to know what Security would be given for those *Liberties* which they had lately in *Keeping*. Was there any Likelihood that an Assembly, compos'd of such Members, would be so fawcy as to make Words with a Monarch. I rather wonder they did not, with the 50000 Pounds, send him such a Present as was made to the King of Denmark by his good and wise People, about the same Time.

Mr. Echard informs us, some were for clogging the King's Return with Limitations and Exceptions, not one of the before-mention'd, I believe; instead of which, the old Cry was immediately reviv'd by the most forward and noisy of the Clergy, *Unlimited, absolute, unalienable, indefeasible, Jure Divino, &c.* Again, Nothing was more generally talk'd of than the King's Concessions at the Isle of Wight, to which he had yielded with much less Chearfulness than he walk'd to the Scaffold. The Archdeacon is sure of it; and adds, *Few wise Men thought they were practicable.* I wish he had told us, who were his *Wise Heads* that thought otherwise; perhaps Sir Philip Warwick, or Sir William Dugdale. He has but one substantial Reason, why the Peace of the Nation could not be establish'd by those Concessions; and that was the Establishment of *Presbytery*, to which King Charles I. had agreed by those Articles. He knows the Temper of some Men much better than I do; and that they would never have let the Nation be

quiet, unless they were restor'd to the Powers, Riches, Honours: The Pomps, Magnificences, and Splendors, which dazzle him and his Readers through almost all his History of the Reigns of of the two *Charles's*; which shine and glare from the one End to the other, unless in those black and dismal Periods, when it was forbidden to plunder, imprison, or disturb our Protestant Brethren, and the Jails, for a few Months, were empty, to the great Grief of several Archdeacons and others.

One of the rashest and foolishhest Enterprizes, in all this Story, was *Lambert's* Attempt to procure an Insurrection against the *Council of State*. He could get but four Troops of Horse together; and Colonel *Ingoldsby*, who was sent against him, had a whole Regiment, and three Troops. However, to make the more for the Glory of the Business, and that *Monk* might not seem to have done it all by Treachery and Dissimulation, that *Good General* calls *Lambert's* four Troops an Army; and this bloodless Rencounter is represented as a *Victory*; *Lambert* was taken, so were *Okey* and *Axtell*, according to *Echard*. But *Whitlocke*, in so many Words, says *They escap'd*. 'Twas hardly worth differing about.

The first Incident on this *Vast Day*, as Mr. *Echard* eloquently styles it, was a Sermon preach'd before the two Houses by a *Presbyterian*; and then the Lords chose the Earl of *Manchester*, and the Commons Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, to be their Speakers. The Earl of *Manchester* had been the Lord's Speaker in the *Long Parliament*. Sir *Harbottle Grimston* had sat in that Parliament till he was excluded; but, says the Archdeacon, *He did not concur with them*; which is not true, as he insinuates; for, Sir *Harbottle* did concur with them heartily in the War to bring Delinquents to Justice, and to procure Redress of Grievances, as
appears

appears by his many Speeches in *Rushworth*, especially that against *Ship-Money*; wherein he said, the Judges were engag'd preposterously, to give their Opinion against their Consciences, &c. That is, *Laud*, *Strafford*, and the rest of the Delinquents engaged those wicked Judges to act preposterously against the Laws. *Sir Harbottle Grimston's* Speech against *Episcopacy* shews he concurred with them in the most important Points, till the Army turn'd against them, and forced them to try the King; which he abhorr'd, and so would a great Majority of that very Parliament, had they been suffer'd to have voted.

We have already hinted, of what Sort of Members this Convention consisted; and it is plain enough, the major Part was as ready to bring in the King, as he was to be brought in: But still there were more *Rumpers* than four or five, to which Number *Mr. Echard* confines them. What will he make of Lieutenant-General

Edmund Ludlow.

Colonel Ingoldsby.

Thomas Scot, Esq;

Luke Robinson, Esq;

Admiral Montagu, one of Oliver's Lords.

Admiral Pen.

Henry Cromwel, Esq; one of Oliver's Lords.

Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of Oliver's Parliament.

William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker of the Rump.

Lord Howard, one of Oliver's Lords.

William Pierrepont, Esq; one of Oliver's Lords.

George Monk, Esq; one of Oliver's Lords.

Lord Broghil, one of Oliver's Lords.

Alexander Popham, Esq; one of Oliver's Lords.

John Hutchinson, Esq;

Francis Lascel, Esq;

Sir Thomas Wroth.

John Blagrove, Esq;

Samuel Bond, Esq;

Rowland Litton, Esq;

Sir Anthony Irby.

John Weaver, Esq;

Henry Wallop, Esq;

John Rusbworth, Esq;

And several others I could name who sat in the *Rump* Parliament, and *Oliver's* Parliaments; and without whom there had been no such Order and Speech, as we shall have Occasion to mention hereafter, when we speak of *Mr. Lenthal*.

How easily the Revolution in 1660. was brought about by General *Monk*, may be guess'd, by what the Historian tells us himself, That if he had not made Haste, it would probably have been done by some Body else; but I question very much, whether any Body else would not have had one Word to say of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, the Rights and Properties of the People, of the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and Security against Popery and arbitrary Power. There probably would have been some Attempts made to secure those invaluable Blessings to Posterity, had not *Monk's* Meddling with the Matter spoil'd any such Project. The Question was put in the *Council of State*, *Whether they should call in the King upon Treaty and Covenant, or entirely confide in him*; and it was resolv'd to trust him absolutely, *Mr. Annesley*, afterwards Earl of *Anglesey*, so persuading. 'Tis very probable he was satisfy'd, General *Monk* would do so, and was therefore willing to come in for a Snack with him in Point of Merit, instead of any such Thoughts in *Monk*. I do not find in the History much more, than that the General's Heart had ever been faithful to the King;

when he was routing and killing his Friends in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Another excellent Author assures us, that *Monk* went over to *Ireland* to fight for the Parliament there, purely with a secret Design to do his Majesty Service. Most true it is, that neither he, nor Sir *John Greenville*, forgot their own Interest, though that of the Publick was out of their Heads. Sir *John*, especially, as soon as he came back to *Flanders* from his Negotiation with *Monk*, obtain'd of the King a Grant to be made *Groom of the Stool*, *First Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber*, and an *Earl*; to have all his *Father's*, and his own *Debts* paid, and 3000 Pounds a Year in Land. Soon after a Warrant was given him to be Duke of *Albemarle*, if *Monk* had no Son; and if the Marquess of *Worcester* had none to be *Earl of Glamorgan*. I don't think any Gentleman to blame for taking Care of himself. I believe Gentlemen do generally think it a Duty incumbent upon them, to take as great Care of themselves as of any one else; but I mention this, because Mr. *Echard* would have us believe, that no Body desir'd to get a Penny by the King's Coming in, thinking himself sufficiently rewarded in the common Felicities of the Times that were to ensue. But considering what little Notice King *Charles II.* took of the *Cavaliers*, after the *Presbyterians* had restor'd him to his Kingdom; Sir *John Greenville* was very much in the Right to have it under Hand and Seal, and not to depend entirely on his Majesty's future Gratitude and Benevolence. The Warrant for the 3000 Pounds a Year, the *Earldom*, and the Payment of Debts, was actually sign'd; but the Archdeacon assures us, the *Earl* nobly refus'd all Proposals of Reward; and that the King caus'd the Warrant to be put into *Greenville's* Packet, as the Cup was put into *Benjamin's* Sack, without his Knowledge. He

assures us also, that the King offer'd General *Monk* 100,000 Pounds a Year, to make him Lord High Constable of *England*. Nay, to remove Sir *Edward Hyde*, notwithstanding he had written the History of the *Grand Rebellion*, and make General *George Monk* Lord High Chancellor of *England*, for which, we may perceive by the History, he was extremely well qualify'd; but the General would not accept of the *Great Seal*, nor the Constable's Staff, nor the 100,000 Pounds a Year, nor nothing at all for himself or his Friends.

I do not dwell on the Particulars of Sir *John Greenville*'s private Conference with General *Monk*, there being nothing in them, as related by the Archdeacon, which will answer the Curiosity so important an Affair might excite. The most remarkable Passage is, that the General took the Knight's Paper, stepp'd back, frown'd, and then smil'd. He has these *Meannesses* too particular for General History, from the Memoir Writers of his Party; who, knowing little of what was done by the Parliament, collected every Thing that was done by the King and his Ministers, when he and they had little or nothing to do. Thus they are full of such Particularities; in all which they would make you believe there is some Mystery, as in this, *He took the Paper, he stepp'd back, he frown'd, and then smil'd*; which, according to the Historian, gave the main Turn to the Restoration.

The Archbishop of *Cambray*, in his *Dial. des Morts*, informs us, who they are that delight to involve themselves in Mysteries, as Vapours are in the Clouds. "How many Things have you advanced on the bare Testimony of Priests, and such like People, who are always fond of something mysterious and ridiculous."

There's no Event so full of Mystery as the Plot of the *Spaniards*, to seize the King in *Flanders*, just

just before the *Restoration*; which they would surely have prevented, had they attempted it. Besides, I can't imagine any Reason for such Politicks, unless they had had better Intelligence than the *English* themselves, and knew of those private Engagements between King *Lewis* and King *Charles*, which were afterwards so fatal to the Peace and Liberty of *Europe*. If it was by Way of *Arrest*, for the Money the *Spaniards* had expended upon him, they must not be very wise to imagine he could pay them better on that Side the Water than on this. While he and they had been quarrelling about the Account and the Ballance, some Thing or other would certainly have fall'n out to frustrate General *Monk*'s deep Designs, which, at last, produced Letters from his Majesty to the Parliament, to himself, and the City of *London*; as also a Declaration, wherein it is said, "That he grants a free and general Pardon to all that shall lay hold of it within forty Days, except such as the Parliament shall except, and a LIBERTY TO TENDER CONSCIENCES; and that none be question'd for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom."

These last Words are printed by Mr. *Echard* in Types, almost half an Inch longer than the rest. By changing the Letters thus, he insinuates, that there was Cause enough for the King to change his Mind, and have some Ministers turn'd out of their Churches, and others thrown into Jails, for *Difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion*, because *Presbytery* disturb'd the Peace of the Kingdom, when the *Dissenters* were the only Persons that were disturb'd. Thus the *Puritans*, in King *Charles* the First's Time, were charg'd with disturbing the Peace of the Kingdom, because they shut themselves up in their Houses on the *Lord's-Day*, and would

would not drink, dance, game, and revel it, as they were requir'd to do, by Archbishop *Land's* Book of Sports. As long as *these Men* pretend to any Religion, under whatever Name they disguise it; so long will that wicked Book be thrown in their Dish, and it will never be Tautology to repeat it. I shall have too much Occasion, by and by, to talk more of this Royal Promise of Liberty of Conscience.

The Historian works himself into a *Torrent of Joy*, and bears down every Thing before him; insomuch, that his *Torrent* is rather a Whirlpool than a Flood.

When a Deputation of Lords and Commons was order'd to wait upon the King, and invite him to return to *England*, the Archdeacon insinuates, that *Ten* Presbyterian Ministers thrust their Noses in among them; whereas they were all sent by the Parliament and City of *London*. Dr. *Calamy*, Vol. I. p. 73. He adds, they would not be look'd upon as *Chaplains* to the *Deputies*, but as Representatives of the Party. There were but eighteen Lords and Commoners in the Deputation; and to have ten *Chaplains* seem'd more than came to their Share. I confess, the King himself made most of them his own *Chaplains*; as,

Dr. *Reynolds*.

Dr. *Manton*.

Dr. *Bates*.

Dr. *Spurston*.

Dr. *Wallis*.

Mr. *Calamy*.

Mr. *Cafe*.

Mr. *Asb*.

Mr. *Baxter*.

Mr. *Woodbridge*.

True, all these *Chaplains* did not go; but several of them were in the *Deputation*. Mr. *Echard* falls into a Fit of Extacy in the very Beginning of his Book, and so continues, till he is quite spent. *Intolerable Splendor, glorious Sunshine, sud-*
den

den Brightness, inexpressible, insupportable Pleasure, Torrents upon Torrents of Joy, Rejoicings and Triumphs, Addresses, Congratulations, Speeches, &c. A young Fellow, newly marry'd, might have burst out into some of these Raptures; but to have done it, as the Historian does, forty Years after, is a great Rarity.

Before I proceed farther in a View of his History, I must tell him something which he never heard of; if he had, I'm sure he would not have omitted it, there being a Plot in it more terrible than the late *Band-box*, or *Screw Plots*. 'Tis in *Richelet's Letters*, and particularly one of *Montreuil*. The Cardinal has receiv'd Advice, that the King of England embark'd at Flushing to return to his Kingdom; and that a Traytor was taken, who had set a Match to blow up some Powder in the Ship where the King was, having a Boat ready to make his Escape in. In the Cardinal's Letter was a Gridelin Ribband with these Letters, C. II. R. D. C. Charles the Second, King of Hearts. This Ribband will be as necessary to be worn at London, in People's Hats, as a Wad of Straw was in the second Paris War, to prevent their being massacred. Excusez moy, si la Comparison cle che. Pardon me, if the Comparison does not go upon all Fours. The Frenchman's Opinion was, that the Cavaliers would presently have fall'n to cutting of Throats; but he's forc'd to beg Pardon for it. If Mr. Echard had known a Tittle of this Powder Plot, I am afraid General Ludlow, and the Commonwealth's Men, would not have gone Scot-free.

We remember what King Charles had done at *Fonterabid*, and shall be the better entertain'd to see what is doing at London; where Mr. Jackson, a Presbyterian Minister, presented him with a Bible, when he made his Entry, at the Head of a great Number of his Brethren; who, little thinking

ing what would become of them in a Year or two's Time, were almost in as great Transports as is Mr. *Eckard*. The King said to Mr. *Jackson*, *It shall be the Rule of my Actions*; which the Historian has left entirely out of his History, where the Proofs of it are not easily to be met with. He tells us, that this Entry was the most *noble and glorious Cavalcade* that England had ever seen. Much more glorious and noble than that of *Edward the Black Prince*; when, with his victorious Father, King *Edward III.* he march'd in Procession through the City of *London*, with his Royal Prisoner *John, King of France*, and a Train of Captive Princes attending his Triumph.

I have now done with the History of *England*, compar'd with *Whitlocke's* Memorials. I have not made any Comparison between that History, and *Ludlow's*, and other Historians of those Times; for that it would have swoln this Treatise to a greater Bulk than the History itself, from the Death of King *James I.* to the Restoration of King *Charles II.* I have more than once observ'd, that 'tis no Excuse for the Historian, that his Errors are warranted by the Reports of such Writers as *Nelson, Heylin, Heath, L'Estrange, Symonds, Wagstaff, &c.* Since he might easily have known, that the very Names of those of them, who have any Name at all, are scandalous in History. My Lord *Clarendon* had Genius and Knowledge; but, as for Sincerity and Impartiality, enough has been said in the preceding Pages; and a great deal more could I say, were it not in Complacency to the Delicacy of others, to which I shall submit, till farther Provocation. In what remains of this Treatise, I shall consider some other Passages of the Archdeacon's History, which he has made liable to Exception, out of his great Zeal for every Thing opposite to that Spirit of Liberty
and

and Charity, which is the Characteristick of a good *Englishman* and good Protestant. Can there be any Adulation so gross, as where the Historian praises King *Charles II.* for his pious Endeavours to reform Mens Manners ; when, on the contrary, there were brought in with him all Sorts of foreign Vices ; and the Nation became corrupted, even before the *Uniformity Act* pass'd, which help'd to set it to Rights again ! King *Charles*, says Mr. P. 772. *Echard*, was not wanting to give all such Publick Testimonies of Virtue and Prudence, as might render him deservedly glorious in the Esteem of all sober and moderate Persons ; and that, by several wholesome Edicts, especially by that seasonable Proclamation, which he publish'd, one of the first Things he did after his Arrival, for the discountenancing and punishing of Debauchery, Profaneness, and other Vices, which began openly to break out, in his own Words. Here is Reformation and Corruption in a Breath : He is out, in the Proclamation's being one of the first Things he did, there being many done before it. And besides *Entring, Supping, Drinking, and Dancing* on the first Day and Night, I have read somewhere, that *Roger Palmer* lost his Wife before the next Morning. I would not be thought to give these Hints out of Undutifulness or Disrespect. Had there been nothing else to complain of but Gallantry in this Reign, 'twould hardly have been worth speaking of. The Complaint is of the Archdeacon's dear Acts of Parliament, of persecuting and oppressing the best *English* Men for Conscience-Sake, contrary to the Royal Declaration ; of the Intrigues with *France*, and the Disunion of Protestants ; of the seizing of Charters, and the Disuse of Parliaments. These are its indelible Blemishes ; though Mr. *Echard* dwells upon them as the most shining Part of his Annals. I mention it only to shew how
absurd

absurd and ridiculous his *Flattery* is, and how *Janus* like he makes the Government to be zealous for Virtue, and abandon'd to Vice, at one and the same Time.

Vol. III.
p. 738.

How strangely surpriz'd would an indifferent Person be, if, after he had read the Historian's *Exultations*, compos'd of all the founding Words he could furnish himself with, to proclaim the Felicity of the People of *England* in the Government of King *Charles II.* He should light upon the following Passage taken out of *State Tracts*.
 “ The Arm of God, that is, his Divine Providence was not less apparent in the *Revolution*,
 “ which restor'd King *Charles II.* than that which
 “ set the Prince of *Orange* on the Throne. Nor
 “ were the Opportunities then less than now,
 “ which were put into his Hands, to have made
 “ himself and these Kingdoms happy; but he,
 “ insensible of that illustrious Providence, and regardless of his Word, gave himself up to Sensuality, airy Phantries, and crafty Politicks; and
 “ most ungratefully, by an evil Example, transfus'd a *Torrent of all Kind of Vice* amidst the
 “ Archdeacon's *Torrent of Joy*: Such as Fraud,
 “ Injustice, Profaneness, Contempt of Religion,
 “ and all Manner of impudent Wickedness over
 “ the Nation.” What Reason this Author has to say so, will never be found out by Mr. *Echard's* History; much more, if it will be seen in the Bishop of *Salisbury's* late Account of that *Revolution*, and its Consequences.

To shew how decently my Lord *Clarendon* has christen'd his History, The GRAND REBELLION: And the Archdeacon has treated the *Long Parliament*, in calling them every where *Rebels*: Let us see what was the Sense of this very Convention, which the Historian informs us, was so cramm'd with Church-Men, that the Presbyterians,

byterians, amongst them, were rather troublesome than powerful. Mr. William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament, and a Member of this that brought in the King, happen'd to drop this Expression, in the Debate about the General Pardon: He, who first drew his Sword against the late King, committed as great an Offence, as he who cut off his Head. Upon which, poor Lenthall, as Mr. Echard calls him, was seiz'd by the Serjeant; and Sir Harbottle Grimston, by Order of the House of Commons, reprimanded him in these Words:

Sir, *The House hath taken great Offence at some Words you have let fall in this Debate; which, in their Judgment, contain as high a Reflection on the Justice and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of the last Parliament in their Actings, before 1648. as could be express'd. They apprehend there is much Poison in the said Words, and that they were spoken out of a Design to inflame, and to render them who drew the Sword, to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and to assert their just Liberties, into a Ballance with them who cut off the King's Head.* I mention'd something of this in the First Volume; and it had been so little taken Notice of, that I receiv'd Letters from Gentlemen to produce the Proofs of a Matter, which so solemnly justifies the Proceedings of that Long Parliament, call'd by the Lord Clarendon, the Grand Rebellion. Mons. de Maiz informs us, Mr. Echard had been very disingenuous in representing it: He would make us believe that the Commons proceeded with all Tendernefs and Caution, with Respect to the late Civil War. You see Men of Candor and Sincerity never call'd it the Grand Rebellion, nor the Parliament Rebels, as Mr. Echard does; and therefore were unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's Part in it: But this is a gross Misrepresentation of their Proceeding. The

Archdeacon

*Life of
Chill. p.
306.*

Archdeacon will perceive I am not singular in my Opinion of his Sincerity ; for *they did not proceed with Tendernefs and Caution in that Refpect, but exprefs'd their Sense of it with great Warmth and Freedom : And fo far from being only unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's Part in the Civil War, that they fully juftify'd it, by declaring as above ; and, that Mr. Lenthal's Words were a high Reflection on the Juftice of the Lords and Commons in their Actings.* Thus are all the Lord Clarendon's, and Mr. Echard's, Reflections on thofe Actings, declar'd to be highly injurious ; and the History of *England*, and that of the *Grand Rebellion*, which treat that glorious Parliament as Rebels, are condemn'd in the moft folemn Manner by the Declaration of the Houfe of Commons, pronounced by their Speaker. After which, I think, all future Criticks upon them will be fuperfluous and needlefs.

The Historian feems to be entirely out of his Wits for Joy at his Majesty's Reftoration. He has the infinite Bleffings of it over and over again ; though, in its Infancy, he confeffes, the Court gave Encouragement to *All Sorts of Pleafure*, and the greateft Licentiousnefs. The truly ineftimable Bleffing we have enjoy'd, and do ftill enjoy by it, is its making Way for the glorious Reigns of King *William*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and King *George*. Wherein the People of *England* have tafted of the Sweets of Liberty, without that Irregularity and Confufion, which embitter'd it in the Days of Ufurpation ; and they have been experimentally convinc'd, that no Government is fo happy as the *Englifh* Monarchy, under fuch Princes as have govern'd fince the Revolution.

We fhould do great Injuftice, if we did not diftinguifh the Courtiers in King *Charles's* Reign, who abhorr'd the above-mention'd Licentiousnefs,

from those who wallow'd in that Mire; and among them will be found the illustrious Names of *Seymour, Butler, Wriothesly, Bertie, Hollis, Annesley, Montagu, Berkley, Piercy, Fiennes*. But the Counsels and Morals of these noble Lords were soon forced to give Way to the prevailing Taste and Example. Though I have not nam'd the Lord *Clarendon* with the last mention'd Courtiers, I never heard that his Lordship was censur'd for any Irregularities in Manners; and I wonder *A. Wood* Vol. II. should be so presumptuous as to tell us *David Jenkins* p. 327. a famous Sufferer for the Royal Cause, might have been a Judge, if he would have given Money to the Lord Chancellor, whose Daughter's Marriage to the Duke of *York* was not known, till her big Belly appear'd, according to Mr. *Echard*; who insinuates, p. 771. that they were not marry'd, but only promis'd to one another. Dr. *Duke*, another Orthodox Divine, goes farther in a Poem call'd the *Review*, and will not allow of so much as a Promise.

On false Pretence of former Contracts made,
 She's forc'd on brave *Britannicus's* Bed.
 This rais'd his Insolence, his Wit out-vy'd,
 And meanest Avarice maintain'd his Pride.
Byrsa his Master's free-given Mercy sold,
 And Royal Grace retail'd for Rebel Gold.
 That new State Maxim he invented first,
 To aged Time's last Revolution curst;
 That teaches Monarchs to oblige their Foes,
 And their best Friends to Beggary expose.
 For these, they said, would still beg on and serve,
 'Tis the old Badge of Loyalty to starve.
 But harden'd Rebels must by Bribes be won,
 And paid for all the mighty Ills they've done.

This Consideration, says Mr. Echard, brought in the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Say, whom he calls Old Subtlety, Mr. Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and several others who had been great Agents in the great Rebellion. His Prose Account agrees exactly with Dr. Duke's Poetry. The Chancellor advis'd him to advance his Enemies, his Friends would be still Friends, use them how he would. The Truth is, there were not many about the King who had Capacity and Experience enough to serve him before the Restoration; and they were forced to employ such as understood the Business, or they would have made as mad Work for this King, as they did for his Father. What was most grating in it was, that his Majesty would sometimes exercise his Wit, of which he had as much as any Man in England, on the suffering Cavaliers; as when he saw one Colonel Pool of Devonshire at Court, in a mean Dress and dejected Posture, asking a Nobleman who he was; and the Lord, glad to be ask'd, presently replying, One Colonel Pool, Sir, who spent 2000 Pounds a Year in your Father's Service. How does he spell his Name, cries the King, pleasantly, with a P or an F? I own this is Hearsay, and so is half the Archdeacon's History, which he has honour'd with the Title of Manuscript. The Person who I had it from was told so by Colonel Pool himself; and a late Author has these Words on the same Subject: "Was it not enough to raise any Man's Indignation, to observe the King often pointing at a thread-bare Cavalier, who had wasted his Fortune, and most of his Blood, in the Service of his Father and himself, and tell his Courtiers, There goes as brave a Man as ever drew Sword in our Quarrel, and yet not relieve him from Starving." There were so many who wanted, and their Wants so exorbitant, that an
extrava-

extravagant Court could not spare the Money for them. The *Roundheads* were generally rich, good Getters and good Keepers. The *Cavaliers* were Men of Expence and Pleasure, who, for the most Part, liv'd on their Loyalty; and as that Fund was exhausted in a Year or two, so they would have exhausted a more flowing Treasury than King *Charles's* was, to supply their Luxury and Profusion.

The Turn, Mr. *Echard* gives this, shews a nice and sound Judgment. *The King would not reign over a Party of his Subjects; and, to satisfy his Readiness to forgive, thought it proper to reward his open Enemies:* There is some small Difference between *Rewarding and Forgiving*. If I was in an equal Capacity, I might be ready enough to forgive the Historian, but I would not reward him for writing his History; however, I will not dispute the Matter, because, in a Year or two, we shall come to *Black Bartholomew*: He knows what I mean, and to the Death of Sir *Henry Vane*; which puts it out of Question, that his Majesty would forgive, and *not reign over a Party*.

If this had been all the Reason of Complaint against the Ingratitude of the Times, it might have been the better born with. But the *Presbyterians* had much more Ground to complain, as having been the sole Cause of the Restoration. I do not say *Helpers* towards it, but *Causers* of it; and that it would not, it could not have been brought about by any other Party. The *Independents* and *Baptists* were *Republicans*, almost to a Man. The *Cavaliers* were so totally suppress'd, that they durst hardly shew their Heads, or open their Mouths; and to act, ever so cautiously in the Behalf of the King, was only a ready Way to the Gallows. As Mr. *Echard* observes, upon Sir *John Greenville's* delivering his Majesty's Letter to the Parliament, *So mighty a Change was this, that a Servant of the King's, who, for many Years*
X 2 together,

together, had been in Prisons and Confinements for being his Servant, and, but a few Months before, would have been brought to a shameful Death, if he had been known to have seen the King, should now be rewarded for coming from him. Farther, through the whole Transaction there was scarce one Agent who was not a *Presbyterian*, above the Character of a Letter Carrier. There was not one Man who had Interest with a Foot-Soldier in the Army, who acted for the King, but he was, or pretended to be a *Presbyterian*. General Monk was a *Presbyterian*, or rather *Independent*; so were his two Chaplains, Gumble and Price. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was a *Presbyterian*; so were Mr. Annesley, and even Sir William Morrice, Monk's great Confident and Counsellor in that Business, which he promoted more, perhaps, than Monk himself, having a better Head, and more Practice in Politicks. He was a Member of Richard's Parliament, and was so zealous for *Presbytery*, that he wrote a Book in Vindication of its Principles. A. Wood tells us, It made him grateful to the *Presbyterians*, whose Cause he seem'd most to serve. Echard does not give so much as a Hint of this in his Panegyricks upon him. Besides the above-mention'd Gentlemen, the Lord Fairfax was a *Presbyterian*; so were also Denzil Hollis, Esq; Sir Richard Ingoldsby, Sir Edward Harley, Admiral Montagu, Admiral Lawson, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller; not to mention the Nobility; as, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Falconbridge. In a Word, the Council of State, which govern'd before the King came in, were all *Presbyterians*; and it was impossible, for Men of any other Profession, to manage such a Matter without Troops, without Ships, without Money, without a Town or Castle; all which were in the Possession

Possession of the *Council of State*, and their good General Monk. While the Affair was transacting, the *Presbyterians* were hugg'd and caress'd by the King and his Party, as Persons that were really what they afterwards pretended to be, The only Restorers of the King. But as soon as they had restor'd him, both the King and his Party grew cold to them first, and afterwards ungrateful and cruel. Read what the Archdeacon writes, *Whatever the Presbyterians did in this Matter, was principally to relieve themselves from the Oppressions of the Independents, who had wrested the Power out of their Hands, and not out of any Affection for the King and the Church; which very much alter'd the Merit of their Services.* Why had not these ingenious Gentlemen talk'd after this Rate before? Why did they not tell them, You shall not bring in the King, unless you do it out of Zeal for the *Church*? To talk thus, now they were about to reward them with Poverty and Prisons, only adds Insolence to Ingratitude, and blackens the latter still the more. I confess they will have no great Reason to boast of their Knowledge of Men and Things, if they expected any Thing better from the Pride, Arrogance, Revenge, the Rage and Necessity of their Enemies. Had the *Cavaliers* been ever once guilty of Moderation and Charity, their giving themselves up to them, and putting their Fortunes and Liberties into their Hands, would have savour'd less of Inconsideration and Rashness. Some of their Adversaries were not contented with such soft Words as are before recited; but call'd them *Rogues* and *Regicides*, as soon as their Mouths were open'd. So did *Heylin*, *Dugdale*, and many more of their incomparable Writers.

As to the King's being indebted to the *Presbyterians*, the Archdeacon informs us, we have only
their

their own Sayso ; and he adds, from his perfect Knowledge of History, that the *Church* had the chief Hand in bringing in the King. Yet, at the same Time, he owns, the King publickly acknowledg'd the *Presbyterians* did it ; for which they needed not his Majesty's Acknowledgment, there not being a Mortal besides them, who pretended to do it, till the Business was done. Sir *John Greenville*, it is true, brought a Letter from the King to the *Presbyterian* General ; and Mr. *Mordaunt* came privately to inform his Friends, that they should join with the *Presbyterians*. Dr. *Berwick* also wrote Letters to the Lord *Clarendon* ; in the Answers to which, Mr. *Echard* tells us, his Lordship shew'd his tender Care for the *Church* and *Succession of Bishops* ; which is all, I find, was done by the best Church-Men in this important Affair, except Prayers, Wishes, and the Weapons of holy and primitive Christians, by one Part of them, and Healths, hard Names, and Curses by another. The latter being so common, that the King himself took Notice of it ; and, when the *English* crowded about him in *Flanders*, a little before he return'd to *England*, hearing them boast unconscionably of their Merits, his Majesty call'd for Wine, and drank those Gentlemen's Healths to the Duke of *York*, saying, *I am out of their Debt, and have done as much for them as they have done for me* ; which is as true as it is witty ; tho' Mr. *Echard* declares, the *Church* warmly disputes the Honour of the Restoration with *Presbytery* ; which has the worst of the Controversy, having nothing on its Side, but the honest Fact and Truth : And on the other Side were the Honours, Riches, Powers, Dignities, Poms, Splendors : The *Uniformity Act*, the *Five Mile Act*, and other stinging and grateful Acts ; which the *Presbyterians* had all the Reason in the World to think

think would pass against them : And I should not have been surpriz'd, had there been more Stings in them. For, till the same Party had, by their various Oppressions, made another *Revolution* necessary, that Christian Spirit, which produc'd the Act of *Indulgence*, was look'd upon as *Seditious* and *Schismatical*; and that Protestant Union, which is now so amiable in the Eyes of all good *English* Men, was *Fanatical* and *Republican*.

God be thanked, the Reverend Fathers and Doctors of our Church have, themselves, inculcated and encourag'd this Divine Principle of *Charity* and *Unity*; and our Protestant Brethren, the *Dissenters*, labour under no Hardships, but from the Insolence and Ignorance of proud, bigotted Priests, who offend against all the Lessons and Examples of their Superiors and Governors.

If I have offended by digressing, I shall remain without Excuse. My Intention, in the following Part of this Treatise, being more to reflect than relate, as Reason is given me by the Author of the *History of England*.

In the Act of Indemnity, which pass'd soon after the *Restoration*, there was a Clause, That if any Person should call another *King-Killer*, *Forty-One Man*, *Republican*, *Roundhead*, *Puritan*, *Cavalier*, *Thief*, *Robber*, *Butcher*, *Papist*, *Straffordian*, *Laudean*, or the like, he should pay Ten Pounds, if a Gentleman; and Forty Shillings, if of a more inferior Degree. This Act, I suppose, became *Obsolete*, almost as soon as it was printed, and so still remains; or what a Treasure might have been rais'd by it upon the Preachers of Holiday Sermons, Assize Sermons, *Bath* Sermons, Cathedral Sermons, Sermons of all Sorts, upon Addresses, Charges to Grand Juries and Petty Juries, at Elections and Rejoicings, *Guildballs* and Bonfires, at *Billingsgate*, *Bedlam*, and other
 X 4 such

such proper Places, where *Regicide, Oliverian, Rebel, Commonwealth's-Man, Geneva-Man*, and the like, are the very Pith and Marrow of Reason and Eloquence. My Lord Chancellor Hyde was so far against such Reproaches, that, in a Speech, he declares *Surly Looks*, and *Down Looks*, to be within the Equity of the Statute: And after this Rate a *Cavalier* should pay ten Pounds for cocking at a *Roundhead*; which, I think, was never brought to a Trial, though there were twenty *Hot-heads* to one *Testimony*.

We are advanc'd five or six Months within the *Restoration*; and it is all Rapture and Riot, Giving and Thanking. Not an Ax nor a Halter to be seen; but I doubt there will be found such Things in this, as well as in *Cromwel's* bloody Reign; and accordingly we come to *Hangings, Drawings, and Quarterings* of

Major General Harrison.	John Carew, Esq;
Colonel Adrian Scroop.	Thomas Scot, Esq;
Colonel John Jones.	Gregory Clement, Esq;
Colonel Daniel Axtel.	Mr. John Cook.
Colonel Francis Hacker.	Mr. Hugh Peters.

Who were condemn'd to be cut up with the *Highest Decency*, to use the Archdeacon's own Words, by Judges appointed on Purpose; of whom were

General Monk.	Sir William Morrice.
Arthur Annesley, Esq;	Serjeant Brown.
Lord-Mayor Allen.	Sir Harbottle Grimston.
The Earl of Manchester.	Sir Anthony Asbley Cooper.
The Lord Say.	Admiral Montagu.
The Lord Roberts.	
Denzil Hollis, Esq;	

I name not all of them, for that the rest were, no doubt, as willing to sit on that Bench as any other; but

but these Judges had sat in Parliament along with some of the Prisoners, and were as deeply engag'd in the Civil War, till the Soldiery usurp'd the Mastery. As for the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Clarendon*, and others of the Judges, they, doubtless, were very fond of the Office, and rejoiced that they could pour down Vengeance on the Heads of those that had beaten them. They were doing no more than their Duty; and every honest Man must have done the same Thing in the same Place. But for *Monk* and *Montagu*, two of *Oliver's* Lords, *Manchester* and *Roberts*, two of the Parliament's Colonels, *Say* and *Hollis*, two of the leading Members in both Houses; for these to judge and condemn their Brethren, if it was the *Highest Honesty*, it was not the *Highest Decency*, as Mr. *Echard* represents it. I do not blame him for bringing the Regicides to Justice; but what I think blame-worthy in him is, his taking so much Delight in these terrible and sanguinary Executions; which, the Bishop of *Salisbury* tells us, rais'd Horror in the Minds of the People, who were at first as eager to have them punish'd, as he himself was; but they could not hold out so long as he does, and see the last Carcass ripped up with the same Pleasure he saw the first. There's scarce any other Instance of such Inhumanity in *English* History; and the Rabble's fiddling before the Cart, when *Jonathan Wild* was carry'd to the Gallows, is not more shocking than the Delight the Historian takes in the Hangman's cruel handling of those condemn'd Criminals. To extenuate some aggravating Circumstances in these *Bowelings* and *Quarterings*, the Historian assures us, *Hugh Peters* was caught a-bed with a *Whore*, and dy'd drunk. The same he insinuates of Major General *Harrison*, and Mr. *Carew*, who were both of them Men of strict Temperance; and, if
it

it could be had, rather too much Religion than too little. Mr. *Carew's* Brother, Sir *Alexander*, had his Head cut off by the Parliament, for serving the King; and Mr. *Carew* himself had his Head, Legs, Arms, and all cut off for diserving him. Such was, and such will be the dismal Event of Civil Distractions; where Rage and Revenge do as much Mischief as War and Victory. *Tom Scot*, he says, was at first a *Brewer's* Clerk; tho' a few Months before he was Clerk to the *Commonwealth*, and, in Truth, was at first a Scholar of *Westminster* School; which shews us he was not of such a beggarly Family, as he would make us believe. But what signify'd his Family, when the Halter was about his Neck. Sure, any Man was well enough born to die, as he did very legally and very reasonably, by the Hands of the Hangman. Colonel *Scroop* and Mr. *Carew* were of as good Families as my Lord *Clarendon*, but never the better for it, when they were mounting the Ladder. During these Executions, continues the Historian, the King and Ministry were using all softening Methods. See how Bishop *Burnet* speaks of this Softness, and that Time of Joy and Pleasure.

When the *Regicides* were at their last Prayers, the Archdeacon is among them, catching their Words, and calling them Names: He repeats their Pathetick Ejaculations; which the Bishop of *Salisbury* tells us made an Impression on the People, but have not the least Effect upon him. I don't mind Prophecies, whether *Orthodox* or *Schismatical*; yet there are remarkable Words in some of their Sayings. *Harrison*, God will, e're long, make known that there was more of him in the Cause than Men were aware of. *Carew*, The Lord justify'd the Cause in the Field, and will do it again with a Witness. We must not understand any Thing more in this Cause, than what preceded the
Death

Death of the King, in which these unhappy Gentlemen acted by mistaken Principles, and suffer'd very justly: But the Barbarity and Insolence which they met with are much more *amazing, shocking, and prodigious*, than their *Last Dying Speeches*.

The *Healing* or *Blessed* Parliament, as the King would have them call'd, being dissolv'd, the Historian entertains us with the *Felicities* of England. The Wits, *Waller, Sprat, and Dryden*, are three of them, in whom *Oliver* had a Share; for all three of them wrote Panegyricks upon him, which are some of their best Poems. Other Felicities of this Year are remember'd by him, *jovial Entertainments, loyal Remembrances*, that is, *Bumpers and Toasts*, excellent History, *free Conversations, amorous Intrigues*, very well, Mr. Archdeacon, *refin'd Courtship and Gallantry*, softening and fashionable *Expressions*! a fine Face this, but the Inside, by his own Account, is all Rottenness and Corruption, occasion'd by *Theatres and Play-houses*, where a new Custom was now introduc'd, of bringing in Women upon the Stage, and taking them off too, which before had been personated by Boys and young Men: Thus the most enormous Vices were encourag'd, a few Months after the Proclamation for Reformation of Manners. Who encourag'd the Abominations? These filthy *Play-houses*, and lewd Vagabonds the *Players*, are too well known to need mentioning, and what was the good Taste and Politeness of those Times. *Crown*, the Poet, told me, that King *Charles II.* gave him two *Spanish* Plays, and bad him join them together, and form one out of both; which he did, and shew'd his Majesty the *Plan* for the Comedy of *Sir Courtly Nice*. He afterwards read the Acts to him, Scene by Scene, as he wrote them. When he had finish'd the three first Acts, which are by much the best of the Play, he read them over again to the King,

the King, who lik'd them very well, only he said, *'Tis not merry enough* ; I do not say Smutty, for fear of giving Offence to *Decorums*, tho' I might have said worse, and have spoken Truth. *Crown* could easily have mended that Fault ; but the King dying a Month after, he let the three Acts go as they are ; and there does not seem to be the Want his Majesty said there was. Thus, to use Mr. *Echard's* Words, the Felicity of *the Times* came to *be sully'd*. The Year is not out yet, and the next
 1661. will produce something that makes ample Amends for the Corruption he complains of.

Venner ran mad in *Cromwel's* Time ; and, instead of sending him to *Bedlam*, they let him run about Streets, which made him madder than ever. He and his crazy Followers had got some scriptural Phrases by Rote, and repeated them as the *Bedlamite* Kings and Queens do their Royal Rodomontado's. *King Jesus* ; *Powers of the Earth* ; *Kings in Chains* ; *Nobles in Fetters* ; *one chase a Thousand* ; *possess the Gate* ; *Hissing and Cursing* ; *Gideon*, *Daniel*, *the Revelations* ; *Captivity captive*. These were all shot out of a Conventicle, like so many Granadoes out of a Mortar-piece ; and Sir *Richard Brown*, the prudent and vigilant Lord-Mayor, detach'd a Body of the *Militia* to put an End to the War. *Venner* the Wine-Cooper, besides the Army of Words above-mention'd, had forty or fifty as sober Fellows as himself, who routed the Lord-Mayor's Troops, but were afterwards routed themselves, and sent to as safe a Place as *Bedlam* ; and before the Fellows had Time to recover their Wits again, a Dozen of the Forty were remov'd to *Tyburn*, and other such Places of Cure ; one of them raving and cursing, while the Hangman had him in Hand.

The charitable *Historian* would charge the *Presbyterians* with this, because, being turn'd out of
 2 their

their Churches, they preach'd in *Meeting-Houses*; as Dr. Hicks, Dr. Welton, Mr. Lesley, Mr. Collier, and other such Divines have since done. Venner held a *Conventicle*; Venner sally'd from a *Meeting-House*; Venner was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, over against his *Meeting-House* in *Coleman-street*: And thus ended, says he, this REBELLION, of which he wrote the History; and no Pen could be more equal to the Subject than his own. The *Rebels*, according to him, were Limbs of the same Tree, upon which sprouted out *Plots* against the Church and King: *Several Persons being seiz'd, not long before, it was thought to be a Branch of the main Conspiracy against Monarchy.* This REBELLION of Venner was thought to be a Branch of the *Grand One*, of the Lords and Commons of England; a History of which the Earl of Clarendon wrote in several *Folio's*. Venner's Plot justify'd the Proclamation, *prohibiting unlawful Meetings under Pretence of Religious Worship.* Now it begins. Now the Felicities of the Times are blossoming, and he rejoices in the Hopes of a rich Harvest. The seizing of those several Persons made Room for this his first Plot. The Plot made Room for an Act of Parliament; the Act of Parliament made Room for two or three Thousand Incumbents upon *Bartholomew-Fair Day*, Anno 1662. as will be farther mention'd hereafter. Dr. Calamy says, *Many worthy Ministers and sober Gentlemen were imprison'd, under Pretence of Plotting, because they pray'd and preach'd under Pretence of Religious Worship.* So far 'tis very well, and it will be better still for the Archdeacon, when the next Parliament meets, for the Bill will soon be brought in, and not long a passing.

The *Savoy Conference* is spoken of in the first Volume, to which there needs nothing to be added. King Charles had reviv'd his Promise for Liberty

erty of Conscience, six Months after his Restoration, by a new Declaration, and now had a very just and laudable Design, in the Archdeacon's Words, to reconcile the different Parties, as to Religious Matters. The Temper of these Men, towards Reconciliation, will appear presently. When Dr. Bates, at that Conference, urg'd it upon Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, that on the same Reasons they impos'd the Cross and Surplice, they might bring in Holy Water and Lights, &c. which we have cast out. Gunning answer'd, Yes, and so I think, we ought to have more Ceremonies, and not fewer. However, Mr. Archdeacon, who omits this entirely, assures us, The Way of Management, on the Presbyterian Side, gave but a slender Prospect of an Accommodation. That same slender Prospect is somewhat a-kin to his VAST Day; but we'll say no more of it, there being no Truth in the Prospect's being thin: Dr. Calamy is directly contrary to it: He is speaking of the Alterations in the Liturgy, and the Dispute about the Necessity of it. "It was thought to be design'd to draw on a Disputation, which would not have been ended, before the Commission was at an End. The Ministers told the Bishops, that That Method could not possibly tend to any Accommodation; and that, to keep off from personal Conference, till within a few Days of the Expiration of the Commission, and then to resolve to do nothing, but wrangle out the Time in a Dispute, as if they were between Jest and Earnest in the Schools, was too visibly, in the Sight of all the World, to defeat the King's Commission, and the Expectation of many Thousands, who long'd for Unity and Peace. For a little more of his thin Prospect on the Presbyterian Side; God and the World would judge between them, who it was that frustrated
" the

Vol. I. p.
163.

“ the King’s Commission, and the Hopes of a
“ *Divided, Bleeding Church.*” Here the Bishops
are said, instead of a *Slender Prospect*, to give no
Prospect at all of an Accommodation.

I have some *Hearsay* on this Subject, which,
though of better Authority than the best of his
Manuscripts, I leave entirely to the Faith of the
Reader. I was told, by a Friend of Mr. Baxter,
that a Day or two before this Conference broke
up, that Divine happen’d to offer it to one of the
Bishops as a Thing reasonable, that those elder
Presbyterian Ministers, who were outed of their
Benefices, and those younger, who never had
any, should be provided for, as Livings dropp’d.
The Bishop took no Notice of it, and there was
soon an End of the Conference. Having men-
tion’d Mr. Baxter, I cannot omit Mr. *Echard’s* in-
genious and impartial Character of him. “ He
“ was either perplex’d in his Understanding, or
“ indispos’d for closing the Difference; his Ta-
“ lent lay in retiring to foreign Distinctions,
“ and Misapplications of the Rules of *Logick*:
“ And it was hard to say, whether his involving
“ an Argument, and raising a Mist, was Art or
“ Infirmary; whether he was a *Knave* or a *Fool*.”
I am the more pleas’d with Mr. *Echard’s* Picture of
Mr. Baxter, because one may see by it *how these*
Men falsify and misrepresent Things. Like *French*
Painters, they cover their gawdy Pictures with
Red and *Yellow*; and such glaring Colours are
what they call *Fine Painting*; or like *Dutch* Drol-
lers, they hide them in Soot and Smoak. Mr.
Baxter’s Reputation was so general, that nothing
can be thought of more insolent, than the touch-
ing of it by such a Pen as our Historian’s. Bishop
Wilkins said of him, *He had cultivated every*
Subject he had handled. The very learned Dr.
Barrow gives this Judgment of his Writings. His
Practical

Practical Discourses were never mended, his *Controversial* ones seldom confuted. Nay, *A. Wood*, the *Oxonian*, stiles him; the *Learned* and most *Eminent Nonconformist*. The great Number of Bishops, Lords, and Gentlemen who respected Mr. *Baxter*, teaches us what Judgment to make of the *Historian's* Characteristicks in other Cases. He, who cou'd represent so learned and pious a Minister as a Trickster or Blockhead, must be highly valuable for his *Encomiums* upon others.

King *James II*'s Parliament beginning to his Liking, by some Motions against the Dissenters, he was so pleased with them, that he tells you, they were the best Gentry in the Nation; and this Parliament, 1661, beginning just as he would have had them with *Wholsome Severities*, he assures you, they were the most considerable and eminent Persons for Birth, Estates, Knowledge and Experience, tho' there was hardly a Member that had been in any Employment for twenty Years past, but he was a Presbyterian. I look'd over his List in the first Volume about King *James II*'s Parliament, and so I will about this of King *Charles II*. where I find most of the same Members as were in the preceding one, and it looks like a Sort of a Slur on the *bealing blessed* Parliament, to have a better Word for this than for that. These Members are the landed Interest which we heard enough of, about the Time of Bishop *Robinson's* Embassy at *Utrecht*. There was no Manner of Occasion in Fact for this Courtship, except it was a Necessity of differing from other Writers. The Acts which had the Stings in their Tails, which stung the poor Nonconformists, were pass'd by King *Charles II*'s Parliament, or the second Long Parliament, and for that Reason he has given them the best Estates and the best Heads in the Kingdoms. Let us turn to the

the State Tracts, and there we shall see who the Men were whom the Historian delighteth to honour, *Vol. II. p. 340.* “The Friends to arbitrary Power, in the Beginning of King *Charles* II^d’s Reign, pursu’d the same Design, as in *Strafford’s* and *Land’s* Time, of subverting our Constitution; but took Methods quite different from those before us’d to effect it. They remember’d the ill Success of all *Projects* and *Monopolies*, and Pretences of Prerogative to supply the Government with Money. They had found out, and felt by Experience, that a *Free* Parliament could not be aw’d; and that the People, in the Intervals of Parliament, would not be forc’d to pay Taxes that were not legally impos’d; yet there was an absolute Necessity for the Crown to be supply’d, without which it could not subsist. ’Twas therefore resolv’d to attempt that by Fraud, which they could not compass by Force: And, in order thereunto, they took the Advantage of the *Present Temper* of the People, *whose Heads were turn’d by the Felicities of the Time as much as the Historian’s*; which carry’d them, without considering what the Consequences might be, to every Thing that was agreeable to the Court.” *What follows relates to the Archdeacon’s Birth, Estates, &c.* “They recommended such to be chosen Members of the House of Commons, whose Fortunes had been most impair’d in the late Wars, and, whose Dependence upon the Court might incline them to a Compliance with whatever should be demanded of them: And these good natur’d loyal Gentlemen repeal’d the Act of the 16th *Car. I.* for *Triennial* Parliaments, while a few worthy Patriots labour’d to defend it. Places and Pensions were liberally bestow’d on all that could be brought over to

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“the

“ the Court : And 'tis no Wonder, they gave such
 “ prodigious Sums of Money out of the poor
 “ People's Purfes, when a great Part was again
 “ refunded into their own.”

Thus, whatever they were before they were elected, they were rich enough after. The Historian softens this Money-Taking, by telling us, it was thought only, they were too liable to Impressions from a *degenerated, corrupted Court*. It was not only thought so, but prov'd so, by Mr. *Bertie*, and Sir *Stephen Fox*; though, when Sir *John Hotbam*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, and Sir *John Holman* were sent by the House of Commons to fetch Sir *Stephen's Books*, the Lord Chamberlain came to them and said, *No Books or Papers, concerning the King, should be carry'd away.*

I have before me a List of those who were term'd, by some, *Pensioners*, by others, *A Club of Voters*; and shall name a Century of them, to shew the Uprightness and Disinterest of those Members that were the most forward in passing the Archdeacon's Favourite Bills against *Protestant Dissenters*.

Sir <i>Humphry Winch.</i>	<i>John Arundel, Esq;</i>
Sir <i>Robert Sawyer.</i>	<i>Henry Seymour, Esq;</i>
Sir <i>William Drake.</i>	<i>Lord Hawley.</i>
Sir <i>William Smith.</i>	<i>Sir Joseph Tredenham.</i>
Sir <i>William Bowyer.</i>	<i>Sir Cyril Wyche.</i>
<i>Richard Aldworth, Esq;</i>	<i>Sir Boucher Wray.</i>
Sir <i>Thomas Chichely.</i>	Sir <i>Christopher Musgrave.</i>
Sir <i>Thomas Hatton.</i>	<i>Sir Coplestone Bampffield.</i>
Sir <i>Charles Wheeler.</i>	<i>Sir James Smith.</i>
<i>Lord Allington.</i>	<i>Thomas Walker of Exeter, Esq;</i>
<i>Thomas Cholmley, Esq;</i>	<i>Sir Edward Seymour.</i>
<i>Robert Worden, Esq;</i>	<i>Sir Gilbert Talbot.</i>
Sir <i>John Coryton.</i>	
<i>Bernard Greenville, Esq;</i>	

Sir

Sir Nicholas Slanning.
Sir Courtney Pool.
Sir John Shaw.
Lord Latimer.
Sir Winston Churchill.
John Tempest, Esq;
Sir John Bramstone.
Sir Richard Wiseman.
Sir Robert Holmes.
Lawrence Hyde, Esq;
Robert Phillips, Esq;
Sir John Holmes.
Sir John Cotton.
Sir Lionel Walden, a
Papist.
Sir Edward Masters.
James Herbert, Esq;
Tho. Harlakenden, Esq;
Sir Roger Bradshaw.
Sir John Otway.
Sir Jeffry Fitzakerly.
Sir John Prettyman.
Sir Robert Markham.
Sir Thomas Allen.
Sir Philip Warwick.
Samuel Pepys, Esq;
Sir Lewis Palmer.
Sir John Fenwick.
Sir Francis Anderson.
Sir George Downing.
Daniel Collingwood, Esq;
Lord Dumblain.
Sir Francis Leak.
Edward Wells, Esq;
Sir Francis Lawley.
Somerset Fox, Esq;
Sir Job Charlton.
William Oakely, Esq;

George Wild, Esq;
Sir William Basset.
Richard Dyot, Esq;
Levison Gower, Esq;
Sir Henry Felton.
Sir John Pettus.
Sir George Reeves.
Sir Adam Brown.
Sir Thomas Bludworth.
Sir Edward Bisse.
Sir John Worden.
Sir William Morley.
Richard Mayor, Esq;
Baptist Mayor, Esq;
Sir John Stapely.
Henry Goring, Esq;
Piercy Goring, Esq;
Lord Longford.
Sir Robert Holt.
Sir Henry Puckering.
Thomas Tuston, Esq;
Sir John Birkenhead.
Sir Thomas Estcourt.
Robert Hyde, Esq;
George Legg, Esq;
Sir Edward Nicholas.
Sir Thomas Slingsby.
Sir John Talbot.
Henry Guy, Esq;
Sir Solomon Swale, a
Papist.
Sir Thomas Strickland,
a Papist.
Sir William Wentworth.
Sir John Robinson.
Sir Lionel Jenkins.
Sir Charles Cotterel.

I might have nam'd many more, but I forbore, out of Respect to the Families of some of them, who have behav'd more worthily, since the Revolution. The Reader may perceive that, where I can, I affect to name People; and the Historian has learn'd that Method too from some Body or other: I think it lets one into the Reasons and Grounds of Transactions better than any Thing. The Characters of particular Persons, form'd by their Principles, will best shew us with what Views they act, either as to Church or State. Sir *Edward Seymour*, every one knows, had as much Zeal for the *Church* as Bishop *Morley*, though he had not been in the Inside of one for seven Years together: And *Kirk*, one of the wickedest Creatures in the World, would swear more than I shall tell you: *He would lose his Life to rescue it out of Danger*, though he never came near it, when it was *safe*. To meet, therefore, with the Name of Sir *Edward Seymour*, or Colonel *Kirk*, one may presently conclude, that, if they are very zealous in forwarding good persecuting Bills, they are, or hope to be well paid for it; otherwise, what is it to them, whether the Church Door, or the Meeting-house Door, be in the Way, since they, alike, never go into either of them. The Historian does not only blow the Trumpet in the Praise of *this Second Long Parliament*, when they made their first Appearance; he sounds again for them, when they go off the Stage, as well as when they came on, *they were chosen out of as Great, Wise, and considerable Men as were in the Nation*. He would not have been more ridiculous, had he said they were chosen out of as *Tall, Fat, Well-look'd* Men as were in the Nation. Compare the List with that of the *First Long Parliament* before them, and with the *Westminster* and *Oxford* Parliaments after them. And you will be amaz'd at his

his talking so, if you have not seen the excellent *Acts and Resolutions*, for which the Archdeacon exhausts himself in their Praises: Such as

The burning the Covenant.

The enjoining all Members to take the Sacrament.

The punishing all Persons that should call a Popish King a Papist.

The Act to turn out all Corporation-Men, who would not swear to arbitrary Power.

To hang the Regicides, and others.

A second Oath for arbitrary Power in the Militia Bill.

The Act to turn out two or three Thousand Ministers of the Gospel.

The Addresses against Toleration.

The repealing of the Triennial Bill.

The Bill against Preaching and Praying in Meeting-Houses.

The Thanks to the King, for taking Care of the Trade of the Nation by the first Dutch War.

The Act to drive Protestant Ministers five Miles from their Congregations.

The declaring Protestant Dissenters dangerous to the Parliament.

In all which, and a great deal more, says Mr. E-chard, they acted as wisely and justly as any Parliament ever did, p. 964. and *History of the Revolution*, p. 38. In two several Histories does he so say, and the Proofs of it are above; I shall produce them more formally, as they come in their Turn.

It is to be noted, that all the while they were doing this good Work, they were also receiving Pensions from the Court, or they are mightily belied else: But, when they pass'd an Act quite contrary to the last mention'd, and declar'd Protef-

tant *Dissenters* Friends to the Parliament, the Court would not give them a Penny ; which puts it out of Doubt, that the *Pence* came in, when those dear Bills were a-foot. Mr. *Echard* is of another Opinion, and vouches for them, That they were not charg'd with, nor so much as suspected of Bribery, while this good Work was a doing ; but the King gave them the Money afterwards ; nay, when they would give him none, when the King had nothing to give them, and they had voted not to part with a Shilling : Then, according to the Archdeacon, were their Pockets fill'd by the Treasury. You see again, these Writers will not keep to Probability : He assumes his Air of Dictator, and cries out, 'Tis much easier to *invent* than to *prove*, as himself, and some other Historians have found by Experience ; though, in this Case, 'twas much *easier* to *prove* than to *invent* : For a Committee of Parliament examin'd into this Bribery, and the Proof of it is left in their Journals. His Authority against that of the Parliament is the late Duke of *Leeds*, who lay under the Burthen of two Impeachments, and was himself charg'd as one of the chief Promoters of Bribing : He will not see how the Duke prevaricates : *They were sparing of their Gifts* ; when he himself owns they gave by Wholesale. When they were *profuse*, they were paid for it ; when they were *sparing*, they were not ; which is all I have urg'd. Here again, he either forgets himself, or lays no more Stress on the Judgment of the Parliament than on that of a Vestry ; for p. 913. he informs us, one of the Articles against the Duke, then Earl of *Danby*, was, *That he had issu'd out of the Treasury far greater Sums for SECRET SERVICE than had been done before, without Account.*

He comes to Particulars, and boldly affirms, That the *Pensions* were *small*, not amounting to

10,000 l. a Year. Had he never seen the following List!

	Per Ann.
	l.
Sir Charles Wheeler	400
Sir Jonathan Trelawny	500
Robert Roberts	500
Sir Philip Howard	500
Sir James Smith	500
Sir Courtney Pool	1000
Sir Richard Wiseman	500
Colonel King	200
Thomas Price	400
Mr. Westphaling	200
Hampbry Cornwall	200
Mr. Rogers	200
Colonel Whitley	300
Sir John Barnaby	300
Sir Lionel Walden	300
Daniel Colingwood	300
Sir Job Charlton	1000
Mr. Knolls	200
Mr. Robert Phillips	300
Randolph Egerton	500
Sir George Reeves	500
Sir John Duncomb	2000
Sir Thomas Woodcock	200
Henry Clarke	400
Sir John Talbot	500
Sir Philip Mountain	300
Sir John Robinson.	1500
	13700

In all, 13700 l. But he positively affirms again, it was but 10,000 l. This is nothing, as will appear by the following Votes of Parliament.

DIE SABBATI, 24 Maij, 1679.

Sir Francis Winnington reports, That there was annually paid out of the Excise 20,000 *l.* for Pensions, manag'd by Mr. Charles Bertie; that Sir Richard Wiseman had 400 *l.* per Ann. for three more; that Sir Joseph Tredenham, Mr. Piercy Goring, Sir Robert Holt, Mr. Glascock, and Sir John Johnson were also Pensioners. In Defiance of all this, Mr. Echard very gravely and formally declares, *We have less Reason to believe these Corruptions, than to depend upon the Duke of Leeds the Corrupter*; which is so far from being true, that we have a thousand Times more Reason to believe the *Votes of the House of Commons*, and the *Records of the Exchequer*, than what the Duke of Leeds says in his own Favour, and that of his Friends and Creatures. By those Records it appears, that in three Years Time there was paid for *Secret Service* 379,556 *l.* Viz.

In the Name of Mr. B.	294,916
Distributed by another Mr. B.	84,640
	379,556

Which the Archdeacon assures us did not amount to 30,000 *l.* at 10,000 *l.* a Year. Let us now see what was done for all this Money, and who it was that made their Market by it.

The King's Speech to the Long Parliament begins thus; *I do value myself much upon keeping my Word, upon making good whatever I promise to my Subjects*; as Liberty of Conscience, General Pardon, &c. It can't be expected that one should repeat all this Speech, or, indeed, that one should so much as name all the Speeches in Mr. Echard's Collection; which is nothing else, for many Pages, excepting where he tells us, with inexpressible Joy, that the *Covenant* was burnt by the Hands of

of the common Hangman: That very Covenant which his Majesty had taken three Times, and solemnly promis'd, and solemnly sworn three Times to keep it, but could now take it no more: He took it at the Consummation of his Treaty with the *Scots*, at his Landing in *Scotland*, and at the Time of his *Coronation* there. 'Twas, indeed, a bitter Pill, and not easily swallow'd, if it was once chew'd: It must go down whole, and it had made so many People sick, that 'twas Time to fling it into the Fire.

The King did not seem very fond of having a *Convocation*, which was only wanting to fill up the Measure of Felicity. This rich Parliament, without a religious Synod, would have been like a Cripple without Crutches. And, therefore, Mr. *Echard* not only tells us, that Somebody was put upon writing to the King about it; but who that Somebody was too, the *Valuable Heylin*, who wrote a Letter to a great Man to speak to his Majesty for a Convocation; which Letter, with much other Matter of *Heylin's* excellent Writings, is carefully preserv'd in the Archdeacon's History. Upon this single Letter of *Heylin's*, the Royal Mandates are issu'd, and a Convocation call'd. *Heylin*, without Question, has said so, to engross all the Honour of that Synod's Sitting; and, without Question, Mr. *Echard* believes him, though it is not very likely that such a Doctor as he could lead the Court by the Nose, and make them do what he would have them. None of them gives us a true Account of this Assembly. Dr. *Calamy* is more large, and more worth Notice: " During this Interval the Convocation was chosen, " which was politickly deferr'd till now: Had it " been call'd, when the King came in, the Inferior Clergy would have been against the Diocessans. But afterwards many Hundreds were " turn'd

“ turn’d out, that the old sequester’d Ministers,
 “ how meanly soever qualify’d, might come in.”
 He then tells us, that those Ministers who had
 been ordain’d, since *Episcopacy* was laid aside, twenty
 Years before, were deny’d Voices in the Elec-
 tion. “ By which Means, and a great many Mi-
 “ nisters Scruples, who thought it unlawful to
 “ have any Thing to do in chusing such a Kind
 “ of *Assembly*, the *Diocesan* Party wholly pre-
 “ vail’d. In *London*, Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Bax-*
 “ *ter* were chosen by a Majority of Voices ; but
 “ the Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Sheldon*, would not
 “ let them sit.” I do not find they did any Thing
 of prodigious Consequence, besides drawing up a
Thanksgiving for the King’s *Birtb-day* and *Resto-*
ration-day, the 29th of *May* ; and another special
 Form of Prayer to be us’d on that calamitous
 Day, the 30th of *January*.

I fancy there is Something on the *Tapis* which
 we shall hear of presently ; for Mr. *Echard* is at
 the Pains to reprint some Pages of a Libel, writ-
 ten by Roger L’*Estrange*, who was us’d to be
 call’d *Oliver’s Fidler*. For ’tis said, that Usurper,
 who had no great Taste of Musick, lik’d well e-
 nough to hear Roger sometimes thrum on his Bass-
 Viol. We have hinted that L’*Estrange* had lik’d
 to have been hang’d for a Spy ; and there was
 hardly ever a Writer of so profligate a Character.
 Yet Mr. Archdeacon inoculates his Scandal and
 Falshood upon his History, and doubts not of its
 bearing excellent Fruit : He cares not who are
 his Authors, if there’s Railing enough against our
 Protestant Brethren the *Dissenters*. Roger L’*E-*
strange makes Dr. *Swift’s* and *Oldsworth’s* Ten to
 One to be Thirty to One, even when there were
 no Bishops in *England* that exercis’d Episcopal
 Jurisdiction. *Echard*, after L’*Estrange*, “ Upon
 “ a moderate Computation, there would arise at
 “ least

“ least Thirty to One, throughout the Nation.
 “ Even in *Covent-Garden*, a Parish of the *Geneva*
 “ Stamp, the Odds were little less; yet still the
 “ Pulpits are profan’d by *Seditious Lecturers*, out
 “ of the rankest *Presbyterians*, to stir up the Rab-
 “ ble against his Sacred Majesty, whom they as-
 “ perse with *Rottenness of Heart*, and preach
 “ Persecution, as if the Knife was already at their
 “ Throats. *Hancock* prays, Give the King *An-*
 “ *other Heart, A New Heart*. Oh, the wicked
 “ Man, to pray so!” I see by this, that the re-
 verend Historian is not so well acquainted with
Other Hearts, New Hearts, with *Conversion, Re-*
generation, Sanctification, &c. as the Old *Puri-*
tans were, though I took it to be Part of his
 Function. “ *L’Estrange* again a *Mead* seconds
 “ him with a Word of Consolation: *Te know not*
 “ *what a Month may bring forth*; which looks
 “ like Timing of a Plot. These Lecturers are
 “ increas’d to a most *Scandalous* and *Prodigious*
 “ Degree, to the Hazard of the Kingdom, and
 “ the Dishonour of the Church.” This plainly
 was preparatory to something else; *Roger* begins
 the good Work, but others are to end it. *Mr.*
Ecchard informs us, there ensu’d great Noise of
 Projects and Plots by the *restless* Party; new De-
 signs were thought of, Conspiracies fram’d, Coun-
 cils and Meetings held, and, *Praise God, Bare-*
bone taken up: The very Name of him would
 make him a *Plotter*.

I have made some Remark on this vile Insinu-
 tion in the first Volume. It is the viler, for that
 not one of *these Men* did, or do believe a Word
 of what they say; which would have been only
 silly and laughable, had there been nothing else
 intended by it; some *Plotters* they were sure of.
 They had several of them manacled safe enough
 in the *Tower*: These are now brought out to re-
 mind

mind the People of the *Regicides*, whose Crimes were again talk'd of more than ever, notwithstanding the mannerly Act before-mention'd.

The Lord *Clarendon*, in his Speech, at the Opening of the first Session of this Parliament, declares, That *Venner's* Insurrection was the most desperate and prodigious REBELLION *that had been heard of in any Age*, or written of by any *Historian*. He adds, *It might be concluded, the Combination reach'd very far*, when there was not a reasonable Creature in the three Kingdoms that look'd upon it as any thing more than the desperate Effects of Madness and Enthusiasm, in *Venner* and his Associates. Pretty Fellows those, to be combin'd with! *Oliver's* Porter would have made 'em a rare President of the Council. His Lordship says farther, If it had not been for the Vigilance of the Lord-Mayor, *This famous City, or a great Part of it, had been burnt to Ashes* by Conventiclers. Now it comes out, *And therefore it would become their Wisdom to provide New Remedies for New Diseases, and to secure the precious Person of their Sovereign from the first Approaches of Villany*. Upon *Barebone's* being seiz'd, the Earl tells the Parliament, *There had been a real Design forming, ever since March last*. The Proofs, we have of the contrary, are really not necessary; the very Assertion is preposterous and incredible. A Handful of poor impotent Enthusiasts, to raise a War against King, Lords, and Commons, Fleet, Army, and Treasury. Yet, Mr. *Echard* assures us, his Lordship then proceeded farther, even to the Names of the Plotters, and the Manner and Contrivance of their barbarous Designs, which were only at present disordered.

How easy it is, when Things are over, to see the Springs and Wheels that set them in Motion, as the Machinery is exposed behind the Scenes at
the

the Play-house. The pious *L'Estrange* had told them there were *Brewings* among the Rabble, that the Presbyterian Parsons were the *Barm* that work'd them up, insinuating that Dr. *Manton* had remov'd *Geneva* to *Covent-Garden*, which has receiv'd a new Colony, since the Restoration, that have always born their Testimony to the Church's Danger. To prevent it in those Days, Roger *L'Estrange* intimates that the above-mentioned Presbyterian Parsons should be all turn'd out, and it is very probable his Advice will be hearken'd to.

The Corporation Act enjoined an Oath, *That it was not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King, and that the Swearer abhorred that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those commission'd by him, without taking the least Notice, that the former Part of the Oath is diametrically opposite to the Principles and Practices of all the Lords, Gentlemen, and others, who join'd with King William for our Deliverance; to all the Principles of the Revolution, which secure to us the most invaluable Blessing of the present Government, and the Promise of its Continuance in the Protestant Succession, which God for ever preserve; without considering that this Oath clashes with all the Associations, Abjurations, and other necessary Engagements; for that End the Historian glories in it, as a Mortification to several Places where the Protestant Interest was prevalent, and therefore he calls them Nests of Sedition, where the mortify'd Magistrates had their Gowns pull'd over their Ears, and the meanest and lewd-est of those several Places were cloathed with them. The same Party would at this Time cry out against such Removals, as an insufferable Grievance, the Case being made their own.*

Mr. *Locke*, who knew more of these Things, and every Thing else, than our Historian, and all his Brother Historiographers put together, writes thus upon this Subject, *Des Maiz*, Coll. p. 59.

“ As the Top-stone of the whole Fabrick, a Pre-
 “ tence shall be taken from the Jealousies they
 “ themselves have rais'd by their SHAM-PLOTS,
 “ *Pray turn to what my Lord Clarendon said a-*
 “ *bove*, and a real Necessity from the Smallness of
 “ their Party, *thirty to one*, according to L'E-
 “ *trange and Echard*, to encrease, and keep up a
 “ standing Army, and then in due Time the Ca-
 “ valier and Church-Man will be made greater
 “ Fools, but as errant Slaves as the rest of the
 “ Nation. In order to this, the first Step was
 “ made in the Act for regulating Corporations,
 “ wisely beginning, that those lesser Governments,
 “ which they meant afterwards to introduce upon
 “ the Government of the Nation, and making
 “ them swear to a Declaration and Belief of such
 “ Propositions, as they themselves after upon De-
 “ bate were enforced to alter. *The next Words*
 “ *are an Instance of the Historian's Judgment,*
 “ *Modesty, and Moderation in his Nests of Sedi-*
 “ *tion*; so that many of the wealthiest, worthiest,
 “ and soberest Men were turn'd out, and are still
 “ kept out of the Magistracy”. So it was in
Harley's Time, when the *Schism Act*, and the
Occasional Act, both now happily defunct, re-
 mov'd wealthy, worthy, and sober Men, to make
 room for the Reverse of them.

The same admirable Author, Mr. *Locke*, let's us farther into the Secrets of the Party, espous'd formerly by the Historian, *Heylin*, and by other such Historians since. “ They intend to make a
 “ distinct Party, from the rest of the Nation, of
 “ the high Episcopal Man, and the old Cavalier,
 “ who are to swallow the Hopes of enjoying all
 “ the

“ the Power and Offices of the Kingdoms, being
 “ also tempted by the Advantage they may re-
 “ ceive from overthrowing the Act of Oblivion,
 “ and not a little rejoicing to think how valiant
 “ they should prove, if they could get any to
 “ fight the old Quarrel over again, now they are
 “ possess’d of the Arms, Forts, and Ammunition
 “ of the Nation. They intend also to have the
 “ Government of the Church sworn to as *unal-*
 “ *terable*, and so tacitly owned to be of *Divine*
 “ *Right*; which, tho’ inconsistent with the Oath of
 “ *Supremacy*, yet the Church-Men easily break
 “ thro’ all Obligations whatsoever to attain the
 “ Episcopal Station, the Advantage of which the
 “ Prelate of *Rome* hath sufficiently taught the
 “ World.

Mr. *Locke* liv’d long enough to see a Bench of
 Bishops of quite other Sentiments; and who
 would not have offended their Consciences, or
 betrayed the Liberties of their Fellow Subjects for
 any Station, even more exalted than their own.
 We need but look into the History of *England*,
 since the Revolution, to be convinced of it, and
 no doubt it was a sensible Pleasure to that great
 Man to find so happy a Change in Ecclesiastical
 Government. The Bishops whom he writes of
 were,

Dr. *Sheldon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Dr. *Gunning*, Bishop of *Ely*.

Dr. *Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*.

Dr. *Henchman*, Bishop of *London*.

Dr. *Henshaw*, Bishop of *Peterborough*.

Dr. *Dolben*, Bishop of *Rochester*.

Dr. *Blandford*, Bishop of *Worcester*.

Dr. *Croft*, Bishop of *Hereford*.

Dr. *Sparrow*, Bishop of *Exeter*.

Dr. *Morley*, Bishop of *Winchester*.

Dr.

Dr. Stern, Archbishop of York.

Dr. Crew, Bishop of Durham.

These were the Leaders; and their Unanimity in promoting Arbitrary Power and Persecution, procured them the Appellation of the *Dead Weight*. There were other Prelates, even at that Time of primitive Christian Principles, as Bishop Gauden, Bishop Lany, Bishop Lloyd, Bishop In-*flit*, Bishop Nicholson, Bishop Lucy; but the Majority of their Order were against them, and unanimous. Mr. Locke tells us what the latter did for the Monarchy, in Return for what the Monarchy did for them. Then, in Requital to the Crown, they declare the Government *Absolute* and *Arbitrary*, and allow *Monarchy* as well as *Episcopacy* to be *Jure divino*, and not to be bounded or limited by human Laws. Are there any of these plain Truths in Mr. Ecbards Books; if there are not, why are all his Boasts of Impartiality and Sincerity! It is not to say, Mr. Locke has misrepresented the Matter: That Gentleman's Virtue, Knowledge, and immense Learning throw all Names out of the Ballance, and leave no Weight in any the Historian can bring to vouch for him; especially, considering he got nothing by his Principles, but what every *English-Man* had his Share of in the Security of *English* Liberties. There was nothing venal in his Arguments, and one cannot but suspect and condemn those that have always Self at the Bottom, whatever Vehicle 'tis wrapp'd up in, whether Riches, Dignities, or Powers; which I am far from grudging to such as enjoy them only as Accidents, and not as Substances, among whom I do not expect to find the Historian, who seems to have nothing else at Heart.

The chusing John Lort, Esq; Prince of *Lincolnsims*, is a surprising Incident, not to be met with

with in *common general Histories*; and so is that of the Death of Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, who was kill'd by the Felicity of these felicitous *Times*. The oddest Way of murdering a Man; he pin'd away with Grief, he cou'd not bear it.

The Parliament did not meet in the *Christmas* Holy-days; but he informs us, that, after due *Feastings* and *Revellings*, they came together again ready to *advance the Prerogative*. Which, in plainer *English*, is to erect a Tyranny instead of that lawful Government, by which our late glorious Sovereigns have most happily governed us. But *they were alarm'd*, says our uncommon and superior Historian, with the Outcries of *Plots and Conspiracies*; there are not half enough yet to pass off the intended Act. The illustrious Author of the Essay, concerning *Human Understanding*, which is abridg'd by the Lord Bishop of St. *Asaph*, assures us, these *Plots and Conspiracies* were sham ones, invented by the very Men who made the Outcry. And yet, the Earl of *Clarendon*, Author of the History of the grand *Rebellion*, told the Parliament he had a List of just *one hundred and threescore Officers*, who were as deep in this Plot as *Jaffeir* and *Pierre* are in that of *Venice preserv'd*; that the Risings were to be in *Sbrewsbury*, *Coventry*, and *Bristol*. The Plotters pick'd out proper Places to rise in, there being People in those Trading Towns, if they cou'd be got together. That these Rebels were to begin, where the former Rebels ended, with *killing the King*. That several of King *Charles the First's* Judges were entertain'd in *Holland*, *France*, and *Germany*, and were fomented by *foreign Princes*. Did the Kings of *Spain*, *France*, or *Portugal* foment them! Where is there Probability like this! That the Plotters bought up *Arms*; and bragg'd that the *Intelligence he had*, never fail'd. He

had much better *Look-out's* than *Oliver*, or *Thurloe*. None of these Folks ever tell an Untruth. That at *Huntington* the Conspirators appear'd like *Quakers*, and rode up and down in the Night, by which People were frighted. However, that they may not get *Shrewsbury* into their Hands: *The good Lord General* had ordered two Troops of Horse to march to that Town, and see that no Body got on Horseback but by *Day-light*: Two Troops more he sent to *Coventry*, to look at the Man that looks out at the Window there. These Troops routed some Thieves as they were riding along, and made twenty of them Prisoners. Upon this, without any more to do, Mr. *Echard* informs us, the House proceeded with greater *Activity*, in finishing the great Bill, for the *Establishment of the Church, by settling Uniformity*; there at last you have it. I was the less surpris'd at what was a doing, because I had read what Mr. *Locke*, Dr. *Calamy*, and others had written of the Conspiracies, which put the Parliament upon Metal. *Cal.* Vol. I. p. 181. "*Tarrington's Plot, Oxfordshire Plot, Herefordshire Plot, Staffordshire Plot, &c.* were the general Cry. This all the Pamphlets printed at that Time ran upon, and it was in this very Session that this Bill of Uniformity passed the House; and that the general Cry by these *sham* Plots promoted it, will easily be judg'd by any one that will be at the Pains to peruse *Tarrington's* Narrative. I must put the Reader in mind of the Account the Archdeacon gives of the King's turning *Papist* at *Fonterabia*, for that his Majesty, speaking to the House of Commons in particular about the same Bill, has these Expressions. " I thank you for it, since I presume it proceeds from a good Root of Piety and Devotion. But I must tell you I have the worst Luck in the World, if, after all the

" RE-

“ REPROACHES of being a *Papist*, while I was
 “ Abroad, I am suspected of being a *Presbyterian*
 “ now I am at Home. I know you will not take it
 “ unkindly, if I tell you I am as zealous for the
 “ *Church of England* as any of you can be, and
 “ am enough acquainted with the Enemies of it
 “ on all Sides. That I am as much in love with
 “ the Book of *Common Prayer* as you can wish,
 “ and have Prejudice enough to those that do
 “ not love it. And you may be confident I do
 “ as much desire to see an *Uniformity* settled as
 “ any of you.

There is a manifest Sameness in the Stile of
 these Speeches; they are all one, all the same,
 natural, lively, polite, the Labour of the Lord
Clarendon's Pen in all Likelihood. Not that King
Charles cou'd not have succeeded as well himself;
 but he was too indolent, and, perhaps, too forget-
 ful in this last Affair, considering his Declaration
 in *Scotland*, and after having so often taken the
 Covenants too. He there declares he detests and
 abhors all *Popery*, *Superstition*, and *Idolatry* to-
 gether with *Prelacy*, and resolves not to tolerate
 them in any Part of his Dominions; yet, by this
 Act, he resolves not to tolerate any thing else.
 And considering he had made a most solemn Vow,
 not only to enjoin the Covenant, but fully to esta-
 blish *Presbyterian Government*, *Directory of Wor-*
ship, *Confession of Faith*, and to give his Royal
 Assent to any Acts past, or to be past, enjoining
 the same in his other Dominions, to observe them
 his own Practice and Family, and never to op-
 pose them, or endeavour any Change; all which,
 and much more of the same *Presbyterian* Kind
 was confirm'd by this tremendous Oath; By the
 eternal and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth
 for ever; I will observe and keep all that is con-
 tained herein: Considering all this, I say, this

Speech might have been as well left out as put into the History. That every thing was upon the Square, in this Age of Gold, appears not only by his Majesty's swearing thus for Presbytery and its Appurtenances; by his Royal Promise at *Breda*, that not a Man should in the least be disturb'd for Conscience-Sake; by his renewing that Promise two or three Months before the *Uniformity Act*, which the Archdeacon justly calls a formidable One; but also, by a *Declaration*, which the Earl of *Clarendon* drew up in the King's Name, read over, and delivered to the Presbyterian Ministers in the Presence of

His Majesty King *Charles II.*

Lord Chancellor *Hyde.*

Duke of *Albemarle.*

Duke of *Ormond.*

Dr. *Sheldon*, Bishop of *London.*

Dr. *Morley*, Bishop of *Worcester.*

Dr. *Henchman*, Bishop of *Salisbury.*

Dr. *Cofins*, Bishop of *Durham.*

Dt. *Gauden*, Bishop of *Exeter.*

Dr. *Hacket.*

Dr. *Barwick.*

Dr. *Gunning*, &c.

The Earl of *Anglesey.*

The Earl of *Manchester.*

The Lord *Hollis.*

Dr. *Reignolds.*

Dr. *Wallis.*

Dr. *Spurston.*

Mr. *Calamy.*

Mr. *Asb.*

Mr. *Baxter.*

What I am about to relate is very imperfectly reported by the Archdeacon, who has entirely sunk this

this august Assembly ; nor inserted the Declaration, but maim'd, and by Pieces, tho' it is the best Proposal that ever was made for *Peace, Union, and the Protestant Interest*. When the Earl of *Clarendon* had read it, he produc'd a Paper, being a Sort of Petition of the Independents and Anabaptists, in behalf of themselves ; for whom this Clause was added to the Declaration, *Others also shall be permitted to meet for religious Worship, so be it, they do it not to the Disturbance of the Peace, and that no Justice of the Peace, or Officer, disturb them*. Dr. *Calamy* relates the Event at large : “ This being design'd to secure Liberty
“ to the *Papists*, there was a general Silence upon the reading it. The Bishops thought it a
“ nice Point, and therefore said nothing. The
“ *Presbyterians* were afraid to speak against it,
“ lest all the Sects and Parties should look upon
“ them as the Causers of their Sufferings, and
“ they should be represented as grossly partial, in
“ desiring Liberty themselves, while they would
“ have no others have it with them. At length
“ Mr. *Baxter*, fearing their Silence would be mis-
“ interpreted, spoke to this Purpose, Dr. *Gunning*,
“ a little before, speaking against Sects
“ nam'd *Papists* and *Socinians*. For our Parts
“ we do not desire Favour for ourselves alone, and
“ rigorous Severity against none ; but as we hum-
“ bly thank his Majesty for his declared Indul-
“ gence to ourselves, so we distinguish the tolerable
“ Party from the Intolerable : For the former we
“ humbly crave just Lenity ; but for the latter,
“ such as the two Sorts mention'd, for our Parts
“ we could not make their Toleration our Request.
“ The King replied, *There are Laws sufficient*
“ *against the Papists* : Mr. *Baxter* answer'd, *We*
“ *understand the Question to be, whether those*
“ *Laws will be executed or not ; so that Matter*

“ was dropp’d.” As Mr. *Echard* takes no notice of this Conference, one of the most important in History, so he is silent as to the Share Bishop *Morley*, Bishop *Henchman*, Dr. *Reignolds*, and Mr. *Calamy* had in the Declaration of the 25th of *October* 1660. When the Earl of *Clarendon* had read it over, several spoke to it on both Sides, and Alterations were made; after which his Majesty appointed those four Divines to determine of any Words in those Alterations; and if they could not agree, the Earl of *Anglesey* and the Lord *Hollis* were to decide them. “ According-
 “ ly, says Dr. *Calamy*, the Declaration came out
 “ so amended, with such a pastoral persuasive
 “ Power of governing, left to the Ministers with
 “ the Rural Deans, as that it was fitted to be an
 “ Instrument of Concord and Peace, if settled by
 “ a Law; and so the Division might have been
 “ healed upon the Alteration of the Liturgy, as
 “ the Declaration promised with other Matters,
 “ as follows.” We find nothing of all this in the Archdeacon’s History, tho’ he had the Opportunity of reading it in Dr. *Calamy*’s Abridgment. He also leaves out every Word of the Preamble to the Declaration; and the Reason is plain from the very Words themselves. *When we were in Hol-
 land, we were attended by many grave and learned
 Ministers from hence, who were look’d upon as the
 most able and principal Assertors of Presbyterian
 Opinions; with whom we had as much Conference
 as the Multitude of Affairs which were then upon
 us would permit us to have; and to our great Sa-
 tisfaction and Comfort found them Persons full of
 Affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of Church
 and State, and neither Enemies, as they have been
 given out to be, of Episcopacy or Liturgy, but mo-
 destly to desire such Alterations in either, as with-
 out shaking Foundations might allay the present
 Distem-*

Distempers. Why could not Mr. *Echard* have said this as well as the King and the Lord Chancellor; instead of which, he cries out against the Declaration itself as *overstrain'd*, *not only to overrule the Canons*. The Lord help them! What signifie the Canons to the Peace of Church and State? *And disable the Discipline of the Church; but likewise to lie hard on the Constitution, by dispensing with the Statutes*; and if those Statutes, or any Statutes, tended to the Disturbance of Church or State, they should have been repealed rather than dispens'd with: *But these were Times that required irregular Methods*. The Reason and Temper of this *irregular* Declaration, as he terms it, are equally conspicuous, and oblige him, notwithstanding what he has said, and what he has not said, to recommend it as an *excellent Pattern of Wisdom and Goodness*. Had it been as sincere as it was wise and good, the Happiness of the Times would have deserved another Sort of Panegyrist than the Historian. The Substance of it was, "That the King resolved to promote the Power of God-
 " linefs, to encourage the Exercise of Religion
 " both in publick and private; to take care that
 " the Lord's Day should be applied to holy Ex-
 " ercises, without unnecessary Divertisements,
 " such as the Book of Sports had enjoined; and as
 " the reverend Author calls an Extream of the
 " Puritan Party: That insufficient negligent, and
 " scandalous Ministers should not be permitted in
 " the Church; happy Times were, indeed, promis'd!
 " That no Bishops should ordain, or exercise any
 " Part of Jurisdiction, which appertains to the
 " Censure of the Church, without the Advice
 " and Assistance of the *Presbyters*, and neither
 " do, nor impose any thing but what is accord-
 " ing to the known Laws of the Land; that Chan-
 " cellors, Commissaries, Officials, be excluded
 Z 4 from

from *Acts of Jurisdiction*. Here King Charles II. and the Earl of Clarendon declared themselves against *Spiritual Courts*, so justly odious to the *English Nation*, and of no other Use than to feed the Malice and Revenge of passionate, insolent Priests, or the splenetick, litigious Humour of revengeful, malicious Laicks. “ That the Power of the Pastors in their several Congregations should be restored, and a Liberty granted to all Ministers to assemble monthly for the Exercise of the pastoral persuasive Power, to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness in their Flocks.” No Mention here of an Archdeacon, or his Visitation; which, whether to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness or not, I refer to our Dignitary himself. “ That the Ministers should be freed from the Subscriptions required by the Canons, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience; and receive Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and exercise their Function, and enjoy the Profits of their Livings without being obliged to it. And that the Use of Ceremonies should be dispensed with, where they were scrupled.

If this most Christian Declaration had been pursued, all Nonconformity had been confounded. There would have remained no Pretence for Scruple; and not to conform wou’d have been a sad Effect of Stupidity, as it is now of Mistake. Mr. *Echard* represents the King and the Earl of Clarendon’s healing Declaration, very differently from Dr. Calamy;

CALAMY,

ECHARD.

To encourage the Exercise of Religion both in publick and private.

“ To encourage the frequent Preaching of Bishops.

No

CALAMY.

ECHARD.

No unnecessary Diver-
tisements on the Lord's-
Day.

All Ministers to as-
semble monthly; Chan-
cellors, Commissaries,
&c. excluded.

Ministers freed from
the Subscriptions, Cere-
monies dispensed with.

Entirely left out on
Account, I suppose, of
the two Books afore-
said.

" Suffragan Bishops to
" be appointed, Chan-
" cellors, &c. exclud-
" ed in Matters purely
" Spiritual only.

" Left out entirely,
" for the present only.

intimating that there would be an *Act*, which is much stronger than a Declaration in a few Months, as there was one with a Vengeance, which effectually undid whatsoever was done before, in pursuance of his Majesty's Promises for Liberty of Conscience: Nay, the Lord *Clarendon*, who drew up the healing Declaration, told the Parliament a very few Months after, *that the Clergy still repeated their old Errors, and were not effectually subdued. Instead of a Conference, 'tis turn'd about to a Conquest; instead of Comprehension, it is now Persecution; from such Sincerity one may expect the most impartial History that ever was written, as Dr. Felton and a hundred Doctors more say his Lordship's is.*

The Truth is, King *Charles* never intended to relieve the Dissenters; and it is more than probable, that the Earl of *Clarendon* drew up the above-mentioned Declaration, and the Act of Uniformity, at one and the same Time, or within a few Days odds, tho' they differ one from the other, as much as *Reward and Punishment*. The Earl

Cal. Vol.
1. p. 171.

Earl of Manchester telling the King, while the *Uniformity Act* was in debate; *He was afraid the Terms of it were so rigid, that many of the Ministers would not comply with it.* The King replied, *I am afraid they will.* It is also credibly reported he should say, *Now we know their Minds, we'll make them all Knaves, if they conform.* That there was nothing meant by Promises and Conferences, but Amusement, was known to a few only: Some pious Ministers of the *Convocation* were for healing Methods, and desir'd that the Perfection of the *Liturgy* might not be so very much insisted upon. Dr. *Allen* of *Huntingtonshire*, Clerk to that Assembly, laboured with Dr. *Sheldon*, then Bishop of *London*, that the *Liturgy* might be reform'd, so as that no sober Man might make Exception; but was wish'd to forbear, for that what should be was concluded upon. This is the History which Mr. *Echard* calls Raking into Kennels and Common-Shores; he has not defil'd his own with a Line of these Truths, so very upright and impartial is our Historian. There was other Work to be done with the *Nonconformists*; they were to be persecuted, or indulg'd, as it stood with the Interest of the Court, who had them all now at their Mercy. If they were indulg'd, the *Papists* would pretend and have a Claim to the like Favour. Accordingly, three or four Months after the *Uniformity Act* was executed on *Bartholomew-Day*, the King published a Declaration of Liberty of Conscience, not excluding the *Papists* many of whom, he said, *had deserved so well of him.* Mr. *Echard* tells us the Dissenters begg'd this Toleration of the King; but Dr. *Calamy*, *They refus'd to thank him for it, lest it should make Way for Liberty to Papists.*

The Act of Uniformity was accompanied with some *Convocation Acts*, as the revising the Common

mon Prayer; he would not say *amending*, for that would imply it was once capable of *Amendment*, which neither himself, and hardly ever an Archdeacon in *England* will allow of. The Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, who, in his healing Declaration, by the seventh Article, *appointed learned Divines* to revise, and make some Amendments to the Liturgy, and that *scrupulous Persons* be not punish'd for the Use of it, now they were to be punish'd with Loss of Bread and Liberty, thank'd the Archbishops and Bishops for making so few Alterations; and the Historian honestly enough confesses, that the Liturgy, as it now stands, was prepared on purpose for the *Uniformity Bill*. Tho' I have conform'd, and heartily do conform to that very Liturgy; yet, if I had been worthy of a Vocation from the Holy Ghost, I should have abhorr'd the mixing so much Art and Disguise with the Simplicity and Purity of the Gospel: To have propos'd Union, and have procur'd Oppression; to have talk'd of widening, and then to streighten the Doors of the Church. Let us look out for some Lay-Man, who has discours'd on this Subject, that it may be fairly and impartially represented; and a noble Lord speaks thus of it in *Mons. des Maizeaux's* Collection of Mr. *Locke's* Pieces, p. 113. "I humbly conceive the Liturgy is not so
 " sacred, being made by Men the other Day;
 " and thought to be more differing from the dis-
 " senting Protestants, and less easy to be comply'd
 " with, upon the Advantage of a Pretence, well
 " known to us all, of making Alterations as might
 " the better unite us. Instead whereof, there is
 " scarce an Alteration but widens the Breach. I
 " I thank ye, says my Lord Clarendon as above.
 " No Ordination is allow'd by it, but what is
 " Episcopal, insomuch, that a Popish Priest is ca-
 " pable, when converted, of any Church Prefer-
 " ment

"ment without Re-ordination; but no Prote-
 "stant Minister not Episcopally ordain'd, but is
 "required to be re-ordain'd; as much as in us
 "lies, *unchurching* all the foreign Protestants
 "that have not Bishops, tho' the contrary was
 "both allowed and practis'd from the Beginning
 "of the Reformation, till the Time of the Uni-
 "formity Act; and several Bishops were made of
 "such as were never ordain'd by Bishops." His
 Lordship means Queen Elizabeth's Uniformity,
 and not that which past after King Charles II. had
 promis'd the Presbyterian Ministers Liberty of
 Conscience. It is very hard that Lay-Men are
 forced to teach Church-Men their Religion, and
 to shew wherein it consists, in Piety and Charity,
 Virtue and Benevolence, and not in Poms and
 Powers. One would think by the Conduct of
 the Ecclesiasticks, after the Restoration, that our
 Protestant Brethren, the Dissenters were really
Schismatics, as they are generally term'd in
 Country Pulpits, by such as do not know the Dif-
 ference between *Schism* and *Scissars*. Let us then
 see what the learned *Chillingworth* says of *Schism*,
 before we treat further of the Statute which turn'd
 2000 Protestant Ministers out of their Churches
 and Houses; we shall learn by it that those Rural
 Teachers are the most flagrant Sophisters, or the
 most stupid Casuists, that were ever heard of. It
 is not, says Mr. *Chillingworth*, always of necessity,
schismatical to separate from the external Commu-
 nion of the Church, though wanting nothing neces-
 sary, the direct Case of the Establishment and the
 Separation. For if this Church, suppos'd to want
 nothing necessary, require me to profess against my
 Conscience, that I believe some Error, though ne-
 ver so small and innocent, which I do not believe;
 one may defy all the Hicks's, Lesley's, Trap's, Sa-
 ccheverel's, Kennet's, &c. to deny that this is not
 exactly

exactly the same with *Assent and Consent*; and will not allow me her Communion, but upon this Condition; in this Case, the Church, for requiring this Condition, is *Schismatical*, and not I, for separating from the Church. Are all the last mention'd Names, and all the Convocations from the *Canon-Makers* in 1640, till the last, of Weight equal with the Judgment of the great *Chillingworth* in this Matter, so well studied by him! What will become of all the Lord *Clarendon's* and Speaker's *Affirms*. If there is a Hint of this Kind from the Beginning of the Archdeacon's Book to the End, I must beg Pardon for giving Offence to his Impartiality and Moderation: He affirms positively that the Uniformity Act was form'd with as much Skill and Exactness, as it well could be. One of the most pious, learned, and polite Divines of the last Age, Dr. *Bates*, whose Merit, as Dr. *Calamy* observes, would have advanc'd him to the highest Post in the Church, says of this infallible Act, *The old Clergy from Wrath and Revenge, the dear Companions of Exactness and Skill, and the young Gentry from their servile Compliances with the Court, were very active to carry it on.* The Sayings of such a Man, who had refus'd the Dignities to which others make such *Sacrifices*, silence at once all Opposition, turn all History into *Fable*, and need no Authority to confirm them; however, since I find the reverend Historian hugging himself with this new Felicity of King *Charles's* Reign, I will enquire of another reverend Divine, what Reason he has for it, and he relates it thus; *Cal. Bax. p. 184.* He is speaking of the *Thousands* of Gospel Ministers that were to be ruin'd upon the next *Bartholomew-Day*. "They were not a poor inconsiderable Handful, a few Scores only of acceptable and useful Ministers, who were by this Act cast out of the Church, but many
 " Hundreds.

“ Hundreds. They did not throw themselves out
 “ of Service, but were forcibly *ejected*; they begg’d
 “ for Continuance, and urg’d *unanswerable* Argu-
 “ ments in their Petition for Peace, but were
 “ repuls’d; they were not cast out, because not
 “ needed to carry on the Work of the Gospel in
 “ the Land, for there were, and still are among
 “ us many desolate Quarters that are over-run
 “ with *Ignorance and Profaneness*. He, who does
 “ not know this, *was never out of Sight of the*
 “ *Smoak of London Chimnies*. Again, there was
 “ was more to be done in order to general In-
 “ struction, Excitation, and Reformation, than
 “ all their joint Labours would have fully suffic’d
 “ for; and yet, they were *ejected*. This was an
 “ Action without Precedent; the like to which
 “ the *reform’d Church*; nay, the Christian World
 “ never saw before *so much Skill, so much Exact-*
 “ *ness*.” The Archdeacon, who after this Rate
 must know more than the *Reform’d Church*, nay,
 than the whole Christian World, assures us, that
this Expedient was one of the Works of the Wis-
dom of the Nation. Acts of Parliament are gene-
 rally so stil’d, and are so deem’d, as to Obedience
 to them, no private Opinion being of any Weight
 against that of the Publick; but since the Wis-
 dom of the Nation has often chang’d, I think it
 sufficient rather to insist on the Authority of a
 Statute, than on the Reason or Justice of it. We
 have seen what Judgment two Clergymen have
 made upon this Act. Let us, in the next Place,
 see what Mr. Locke writes on the same Subject.

Maiz. Col. “ By the Act of *Uniformity*, all the Clergy of
 p. 61. “ *England* are oblig’d to subscribe and declare the
 “ *Corporation Oath*, &c. This they readily com-
 “ plied with; for you must know that Sort of
 “ Men are taught rather to *obey* than *understand*,
 “ and to use that Learning they have to justify,
 “ not

“ not to *examine*, what their Superiors command.”
 Mr. *Echard* does nothing but *justify*, from the Beginning of the First King *James’s* Reign, to the End of the Second’s. Mr. *Locke* again. “ And
 “ yet that *Bartholomew-Day* was fatal to our
 “ Church and Religion, in throwing out a very
 “ great Number of *Worthy, Learned, Pious, and*
 “ *Orthodox Divines. The Archdeacon, on the contrary,*
 “ *assures us they were Schismatics, who*
 “ *could not come up to this Oath, and other Things*
 “ *in that Act.* And it is upon this Occasion worth
 “ your Knowledge, that so great was the Zeal in
 “ carrying on this Church Affair, and so blind
 “ was the Obedience required, Remember Mr.
 “ *Echard’s Exactness and Skill*, that if you compute the Time of the passing this *Act*, with the
 “ Time allowed for the Clergy to subscribe the
 “ Book of *Common-Prayer* thereby establish’d,
 “ you shall find it could not be printed and distributed,
 “ so as one Man in Forty could have
 “ seen and read the Book they did so perfectly
 “ assent and consent to.”

Without entering much into Argument, or Proof, I will take the Liberty to assert, that what follows is one of the boldest Falsities in the Histories of England. “ There was more Sense and sound Ech. p.
 “ Doctrine preach’d in England in one Twelve- 802.
 “ month, after the Presbyterian Ministers were sent
 “ a grazing, than in nigh twenty Years before.” He does not say there were as much Piety, Morality, or even Hypocrisy ; but that the Two Thousand Ministers, who were put into their Pulpits, though they had most of them been bred Presbyterians, the Academies being Presbyterian for fourteen or fifteen Years before Black Bartholomew, preach’d more Sense and Religion in one Year, than 10,000 Ministers for nigh twenty Years together. He has not, I believe, Arithmetick enough to cast up the
 the

the Odds. Sometimes 'tis Ten to One, sometimes Thirty to One; but now, according to his Calculation, above a Hundred to One. Farther, we must know, that even the 2000 Ministers, who were driven away from their Churches, did also preach the very same Year elsewhere, in all Parts of the Kingdom; which, added to the 8000 who conform'd, laid a great Burthen on the Archdeacon's *Fresh* Men, who preach'd more sound Doctrine and Sense in one Year, than 10,000 Ministers had done in twenty Years before; which is a Hundred to One, besides the 8000 Preachers of the current Year.

Speaking of the Divines, whose Churches and Livelihoods were taken from them, he mentions, at *Oxford* only, Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Conant*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Gale*: He might have fill'd his Page with other venerable Names, had he not been ashamed of their Usage.

Dr. *Greenwood*, Principal of *Brazen-Nose* College.

Dr. *Wilkinson*, Principal of *Magdalen* Hall.

Dr. *Langley*, Master of *Pembroke* Hall.

Dr. *Stanton*, President of *Corpus Christi* College.

Dr. *Rogers*, Principal of *New-Inn* Hall.

Dr. *Crofts*, Fellow of *Magdalen* College.

And Forty more of the principal Professors and Fellows. He names but two at *Cambridge*, Dr. *Tuckney* and Mr. *Ray*, the famous Naturalist. He would not add

Dr. *Bond*, Master of *Trinity* Hall.

Mr. *Sadler*, Master of *Magdalen* College.

Mr. *Moses*, Master of *Pembroke* Hall.

Mr. *Dell*, Master of *Caius* College.

Dr. *Sampson*.

Dr. Hulse.

Dr. Pratt.

And Forty more, as in Oxford.

In London, and the Country, above 1000 pious, learned, and able Ministers are omitted by him. Too many, I confess, for such a Book as his; but they are justly remember'd by Dr. Calamy in his second Volume, a very valuable Treatise, which will live, when the Works of the *Walker's*, &c. shall be as dead as their Carcasses. Many of the ejected Ministers, besides Bishop *Hopkins* and Dr. *Conant*, were so happy afterwards as to quiet their Consciences, with respect to indifferent Matters, and to conform to the *Establish'd Church*; with which I am satisfy'd, Nine Parts in Ten, of those who refus'd Conformity on Account of this Act, would have comply'd in Time, had not the implacable Spirit of certain Dignitaries, in Concert with the Court, shut them out by Oaths; which, as is above-mention'd, seem'd to be made on Purpose. The following Ministers did conform, some Time after their Ejection.

Mr. *John Cave*, Fellow of *Lincoln College*.

Mr. *Hind*, of *New College*, omitted by *A. Wood*.

Mr. *Barker*, of *Katherine Hall, Cambridge*.

Mr. *Broadgate*, of *St. John's College*.

Mr. *Hough*, of *Jesus College*.

Dr. *Fowler*, afterwards Bishop of *Gloucester*.

Dr. *Hall*, afterwards Bishop of *Oxford*.

Dr. *Dockwra*.

Dr. *Hicks*.

Dr. *Knightsbridge*.

Dr. *Martin*.

Mr. *Phillip Talents*.

A a

Mr.

Mr. Hartcliffe.

Mr. John Norris.

And a great Number more, who, by Time, had worn off the Prejudices which had been growing a hundred Years before this entire Separation ; the fatal Consequences of which are felt by us at this Day, and were enough foreseen by the wisest and greatest Men in the Nation. 'Tis well for us that we have some, even of this Rank, that endeavour to set us right, when others would mislead us. The honourable Author of the *Characteristicks*, before cited, speaking of this Coercing of Consciences, says right, *If Magistracy would interpose as much in other Sciences, I am afraid we should have as bad Logick, as bad Mathematicks, and, in every Kind, as bad Philosophy as we have often Divinity, in Countries where a precise Orthodoxy is settled by Law.* Letter of Enthusiasm. Another noble Author, the Lord Roscommon, expresses himself on this Subject with so much good Sense and Humanity, that makes one wonder how Men, whose Duty it was to teach Charity, should offend so much against it, as did the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticks, who promoted the *Bartholomew-Day* Business: 'Tis in his Poem before *Dryden's Rel. Laici.*

*To what Stupidity are Zealots grown,
Whose Inhumanity profusely shewn,
In damning Crowds of Souls, may damn their
own.*

*I'll err, at least, on the securer Side,
A Convert free from Malice and from Pride.*

The Uniformity Act being pass'd, and the ejected Ministers a starving, the Historian informs us, the next Consideration was how the *Conformable* ones might still live better. He

He is not the only Man who has much ado to contain himself in the Transports of his Joy for the Happineſſes of the Times. One Dr. *Womack*, who, I think, wrote a moſt ingenious and polite Dedication to this Parliament, in Acknowledgment of their Zeal for the Church :

To the ſtrenuous Impugners of Schiſm and Rebellion; the ingenuous Aſſertors of the King's Supremacy, Crown, and Dignity; the zealous Patrons of the Church's Hierarchy and Liturgy; the vigorous Champions of Decency and Uniformity in God's Publick Worſhip; the Honourable Representative of all the Commons of England, now in Parliament aſſembled, under the moſt excellent and auſpicious Maſteſty of Charles II. LAWRENCE WOMACK, D. D. Archdeacon of Suffolk, *dedicath theſe his occaſional Meditations, in Juſtification of the preſent Settlement of God's ſolemn Service in the Church of England, againſt the ſchiſmatical Fears and Jealouſies, and their ſeditious Hints and Inſinuations.* There's enough of it; and if Archdeacon *Echard* was as well ſtock'd with Wit and Eloquence as Archdeacon *Womack*, he needed not have ow'd his good Fortunes to the Writing of Hiſtories. Ever ſince *theſe Men* have had one eloquent Writer, the Lord *Clarendon*; they have been endeavouring to engroſs all Eloquence to themſelves: And this Dr. *Womack* will, doubtleſs, be thrown in our Teeth, as another ſublime Proof of it. The Biſhoprick, which our Archdeacon's Name-ſake had for this Dedication, was that of *St. David's*; and he tells us his Merit conſiſted in writing polemically againſt the *Presbyterians*. That I may not myſelf be guilty of the ſame Partiality which I charge the Hiſtorian with, I very frankly produce what Inſtances I can meet with of the Judgment, Wit, and Eloquence of his Brother Writers. And I ſhall add

another in *Heath's History*, one of the Pillars of his mighty Fabrick; 'tis dedicated to *George Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*, and begins thus: MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS; and ends thus: *I am most humbly conscious, that this Historiola is most incompetent and incongruous to your HIGHNESS.* GREAT SIR, I am YOUR HIGHNESS's devoted, &c. They are almost all of them as judicious and polite, as *Heath* and *Womack*.

Things go now, as the Historian would have them, and I congratulate him upon it. He extols the Project, for the better Living of the Clergy, as a *pious Design*, which was prevented by the *Avarice* of the *Laity*. His *New Plot* succeeds much better, four or five *Nonconformists* being hang'd for it, as is related in the first Volume. One of 'em confess'd he had been at *Meetings*; and others, that they were at *Meetings*, probably under *Pretence of Religious Worship*: And this is the Reason of his very judicious Remark, *Upon the Whole, we cannot find upon what Ground or Authority this can be reckon'd a SHAM Plot*; it will not bear Reflection.

In the *Biography* of this Year we have the Character of *Bishop Gauden*, whom he calls the *Time-server*, and charges him with aspiring criminally after *Preferments*, by telling a notorious Untruth, and pretending to have written *Eikon Basilike*, when King *Charles I.* wrote every Syllable of it; and he was a false Man for assuming the Honour of the *best Books of the Age*: This also will not bear Reflection. Though this Bishop had had two good Dioceses, and his Kinsman, *Sir Dennis Gauden*, was a rich Citizen of *London*; yet we are told his Family became perfect Beggars, purely for his saying what the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Anglesey*, Dr. *Walker*, and every Body since, of
any

any Credit, have said after him. *Heylin's* Character comes next ; but I will not be provok'd to rake into his *Common-Shores* and *Kennels*, for which he has upbraided all Writers who say not as he says.

He tacitly blames *Dr. Calamy* for putting the learned and pious *Mr. Henry Jeanes*, Minister of *Chedsey* in *Somersetshire*, among the ejected Ministers, because he dy'd a Day or two before he could be ejected. The Dr. gives a very good Reason, why he must have been turn'd out with his Brethren. " *Mr. Jeanes* had been one of the " *Prelatical Party*, and was zealous for *Impositions*, " till, by reading the Writers on the *Puritan Side*, " he found them misrepresented by their Antago- " nists, and by no Body more than the *Historian* ; " and seeing a Strength in their Arguments, which " he apprehended weak, before he weigh'd them : " He heartily fell in with the *Puritans*, and strenu- " ously defended their Cause." No Man, who ever heard of *Mr. Jeanes*, will believe he would have assented and consented to any Thing directly contrary to the Cause he had so strenuously defended. The Truth is, the Archdeacon seems a little ashamed, that a Man of his great Worth should have been brought into Danger of Starving for Conscience-sake. *Bishop Gauden* is follow'd to his Grave by *Speaker Lenthall*, another *Time-server* ; if ever there was one, 'twas most certainly he : However, because he repented, confess'd, and was sorrowful, he should not have made him the very worst of Men, that he might, by Transition, make *Mr. Lawrence Rooke*, the *Astronomer*, the very best. His *Satyrs* and *Panegyricks* are wonderfully diversify'd ; and he uses the same Figures promiscuously, to flatter or vilify, as in the Case of this Transition. Other Historians have also

succeeded the same Way in their elaborate Characters.

The Motives for selling of *Dunkirk*, besides the ready Cash 500,000 l. were *Rutherford* the Governor's spending too much Money there, and the Earl of *Sandwich*'s saying, *The Coast was full of Storms, and Ships could not steer there*: As witness *Du Bart*, who, in the late *French War*, did steer there, and harbour there, to the Damage of the *English* Commerce, about some Ten Millions *Sterling*. There were other Reasons, but he will not tell them; only that the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* was Tooth and Nail against the Sale of it. Here the Historian opposes his own Authority to that of the Earl of *Bristol*, who, in his Charge against the Lord Chancellor, Article XIII. says, "The Money was given for the maintaining of *Dunkirk*: He advised and effected the Sale of the same to the *French King*." In Defiance also of the Impeachment of the House of Commons, which also charges him with this Sale, as did particularly Sir *Thomas Osborn*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, and offer'd to prove it in the House; yet Mr. *Echard* modestly affirms, the Earl of *Clarendon* oppos'd the Sale. And again, he was *unreasonably charg'd, and really guiltless*. Indeed, several Books were written, to shew how useless *Dunkirk* would be to *England*: And *Harley*'s good People were so convinc'd by those Books, that they would hardly accept of it, when the Duke of *Marlborough* had beaten the *French* into a Disposition to part with it. *All this Time*, says the incomparable Historian, *we don't find many Complaints against the Sale*, after twenty Years War, to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, and oblige her to demolish *Dunkirk*. We do not complain that it was sold; but, from the Time of
its

its Sale to its Demolishment, we did not cease to complain ; and the Chancellor being then Prime Minister, without whose Privy and Approbation nothing cou'd be done, he is charg'd home with the Scandal by every one that talks of it, when, says the Archdeacon, he was really free from the Guilt. This is his Sincerity, this his Impartiality. He has been unlucky as well as injudicious in the Choice of his Memoirs ; and I don't believe any Writers alive, besides himself, wou'd have trusted to them as he has done.

Having seen two or three more of the Regicides hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, and restor'd *Okey's Quarters* to his Kinsfolk, as the Reward of his *christian and dutiful Behaviour*; his next Work is to eject the 2 or 3000 Ministers above-mention'd. He is so far from seeming shock'd at the Employment, that he's in perfect good Humour as long as it lasts ; and there are few who will envy his Insensibility.

A Plot being discover'd in *Yorkshire*, the Plotters, he says, were found guilty by a *proper Fury* ; I verily believe it, and it must be own'd, that, for the greatest Part of this Reign, the *Furies* were generally the properest Men in the Kingdom, for the Business they were to do. About 20 of the *Yorkshire* Plotters were hang'd up at their own Doors and other Places. Not one of these miserable Wretches was ever heard of before. They were such Fellows as *Venner's* Crew, and Mr. *Echard*, very honestly assures us, the Dissenters and Common-wealth's Men carried on the Conspiracy ; and that General *Ludlow*, and Colonel *Sydney*, Men of greater Genius and Quality than any of his boasted Characters, were acquainted with their Plot ; nay, Colonel *Sydney* drew down to the Sea-side, to be near those *Scoundrels*, that he might put himself at their Head, and restore

the Rump. All this you have from our impartial and sincere Historian, who wou'd really deserve Pity, as to his History-Writing, if there was not such a Mixture of Malice in the Folly of it.

There's little more Work done this Year as I can find, but the hanging of *John Twyne*, and the pilloring *Thomas Brewster*, a Bookseller, for printing and vending two or three as sorry Libels as ever were publish'd by Common-wealth's Men; three more of the *Yorkshire* Plotters were executed afterwards; and *Ludlow* is surely blameworthy for speaking of these *Plots* as *SHAM ONES*, when so many Men were hang'd for them.

1664.

In the Beginning of 1664, the Parliament meets; and special Care is taken to keep them warm against *Protestant* Dissenters, by informing them of the *Yorkshire* Plot, upon which the King is made to say: "You may judge by the late Treason in
" in the *North*, for which so many have been
" executed, how active the Spirits of many of
" our old Enemies still are, notwithstanding, all
" our Mercy; I do assure you we are not yet at
" the Bottom of the Business. Thus much appears manifestly, that this Conspiracy was but a
" Branch of that which I have discover'd as well
" as I cou'd to you, about two Years since." *He that hides can find*. I have not met with one Plotter's Name, who was of Consequence enough to make a *Tything* Man, nor a Number sufficient to steal a *May-Pole*. Art is mighty good, when disguis'd so as to pass for Nature; but, when the Disguise is so thin that 'tis seen thro', it makes but an indifferent Figure. There's a great deal more upon the *Northern* Conspiracy; and then it is said, that the *long Parliament* was to be restor'd, a Fancy founded upon a Clause in the *Triennial* Bill. One wou'd have laid a Hundred to One that
the

the next Act wou'd be to repeal the said Bill ; and accordingly Mr. *Echard* informs us 'twas presently taken into Consideration , and an Act past for repealing it wholly. The Pleasantry of it is, that as the *Schism Bill* against Fanatical *Festivals* and *Ferula's*, in *Sackeverel's* Time, was introduc'd with a Preamble for the Security of the *Yoteration* ; so this Bill was entituled an Act for the *assembling and holding of Parliaments*, by abolishing a Law which oblig'd the Government to assemble and hold them. The Archdeacon is so in love with this most excellent Statute, that he prints the *Preamble*, which does not at all promise so well, as that to the *Schism Act*. Whereas the *Act, made for Triennial Parliaments*, is in *Derogation of his Majesty's Rights and Prerogative, inherent to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and may be the Occasion of manifold Mischiefs, and much endanger the Peace and Safety of his Majesty, &c.* very much to the Land of this Assembly ; he takes notice that their chief Care was, that the King should not be bound by it to call a *Parliament*, if it was not his Will and Pleasure. This too gives him much Content ; and 'twas not likely he wou'd be put out of Humour by a small Thing, when so good a Bill as that of *St. Bartholomew* had so lately past.

That incomparable Speaker Sir *Edward Turner*, the Joy of the Historian's Heart, the Delight of his Eyes, and the Object of his Admiration, never lets an Opportunity slip, to shew his Parts to the King and two Houses of Parliament. He has a Speech for every Bill, and is sure to bring in the *Cucumber* in every one of his Speeches ; for which the Archdeacon is so enamour'd with them, that he prints them all *Verbatim*. What good *English Men* he and his Speech-maker are, we shall see by what the Knight says about Parliaments.

liaments. When we had read the Triennial Act, we found it derogatory to the Essential Prerogative of the Crown of calling, holding, and dissolving of Parliaments; we found it impracticable, and only useful to learn the People to REBEL. Then comes in the Cucumber; he falls foul upon Dissenters, whom with equal Reason and Decency he calls *Mad-men*; and blesses himself, and the Nation, for the Bill to prevent People's going to Religious Meetings, which he calls *Conventicles*. His Motto for it is

Qui Ecclesiæ contradicit non est Pacificus.

and then he tells the King, the Lords, and the Commons, what good things there are in the Bill.

To be seen at a Meeting the first Time 5*l.* or three-Months Jayl.

The second Time 10*l.* or six Months Jayl.

For a Lord 20*l.*

The third Time 100*l.* or to be transported to Virginia, as the Newgate Birds are.

And then another Scrap of Latin,

Immedicable Vuluus

Ense rescindendum, ne pars sincera trabatur.

Which, in *English*, may be; Instead of sending them to Guy's Hospital of *Incurables*, the best Way is to knock them on the Head to prevent their doing Mischief. The Archdeacon closes this Paragraph with a very wise Remark upon this and half a dozen more Statutes, which were unstatuted at the Time he wrote; *The House of Commons in this Stinging Act, remembring the late Rebellion, thought nothing more beneficial to the Publick, than these new Severities.* Can any one be at a loss to know

know his Disposition towards the Liberties of his Country, and the Religion of *Protestants*! He assures us, never Parliament did more Business, since *Queen Elizabeth's Days*. Indeed, they were always a spinning, but wou'd very willingly have unspun it again, if they 'had had Time for it: Never, says, he were there more Alacrity and Unanimity; 'twas one and all. They were call'd the *Unanimous Club*, as is else-where observ'd. He owns these *Stings* were more against those that went to *Meeting*, than those who refus'd to go to Church. What else can he mean by it, than that these new Severities were more against those that worshipp'd God in some Place, than against those that worshipp'd him in none at all. Let him not say I misrepresent him, for there is not a good Church-Man in *England*, but by his Word, *Conventiclers*, understands *Presbyterians*:

The State of Affairs, especially the *Dutch* War, are so full of Absurdity and Rashness, they will not bear a History, much less a Remark upon it. I confess the Politicks are good enough for the Pen that records them, tho' he makes the Court of *England* to be then as much valu'd abroad as it has been since the *Revolution*, or even now that it gloriously holds the Balance of *Europe*. If the War with the *Dutch* ruins our Trade, weakens the Protestant Interest in *Christendom*, and is attended with Disgrace and Infamy, we shall, I warrant ye, find that it produces some good Act or another that will strike home; for the Men of Zeal and Power know how to time Matters, and take People while they are in the Humour. But it is not done in the fifth Session of this *Long Parliament*, which the Speaker closes with another Speech, as full of strong Reasons and fine Language as his former ones, particularly this unparallel'd Passage: Cosmographers

1665.

mographers do agree, that this Island is incomparably furnish'd with pleasant Rivers like Veins, which convey the Blood into all the Parts, whereby the Whole is nourish'd, and made useful: Therefore, we have prepar'd some Bills for making small Rivers Navigable. This way of thinking and speaking has been very helpful to our Historian, when he has fallen into the Hands of Readers, who love many Words, and little Meaning, and know no Difference between Point and Wit, Trifling and Reasoning. Sir Edward, from Cosmography, launches into Navigation, and explains the great Use of Water-Carriage, contrary to the Opinion of all Waggoners and Carriers whatsoever, whether Church-Men or Dissenters. Navigable Rivers have been found very advantageous in other Countries. It easeth the People, he's an admirable Grammarian, of their great Charge of Land-Carriages, preserves the High-ways, which are daily worn out with Waggon's carrying excessive Burthens. It breeds up a Nursery of Water-men, which upon Occasion will prove good Sea-men; and with much more Facility maintains Intercourse and Communication between Cities and Countries. What wonderful Secrets are these, and how wise have they made our Historian! They were never known, till there were Water and a Boat, which might have been before Noah, as well as after him.

If I cou'd mislike any thing now done, it wou'd be the Bill he prints in a Black Letter, concerning the Clergy's Submitting to the Laws of the Land, to be taxed with the rest of their Fellow Subjects. A very great Condescension, truly! This Custom was first introduc'd by the Commonwealth and Cromwell, who never did one good Thing in their Lives; who were the greatest Blockheads and Scoundrels that ever made the World

World afraid of them, as plainly appears in the Lord *Clarendon's* and Mr. *Echard's* Histories.

As I take the Archdeacon to be as good a Judge of Poetry as History, so I join with him in the Character of *Orinda*, alias *Katherine Phillips*, who wou'd have been the best Female Poet of the Age, if she had not been a *Presbyterian*; so wou'd also Mrs. *Row* be, but upon the same Account; it being impossible for such a One to make good Verses, or do any thing else as it shou'd be done, which we may also learn by the Lord *Clarendon's* and Mr. *Echard's* Characters. The Archdeacon is not contented to praise Mrs. *Phillips* himself; he speaks it to her Glory, that she is prais'd by Mr. *Flatman*, who seems to have exhausted his own Wit in displaying of her's.

The Historian is in one Sense as impartial as we cou'd wish; *filly* or not *filly*, true or not true, out it comes: But his telling us that two *Papish* Queens did fast and pray with all their Households, that the Duke of *York* might beat the *Dutch*, who were Fanaticks, is not so surprizing as to make one stare at it. I own I am much more surpris'd at Sir *John Harman's* Caution, who might have destroy'd all the *Dutch* Fleet, when they were beaten; but he slacken'd his Sails, lest the Heir of the Crown shou'd have been too much exposed. There was no holding of him in. Two Medals in *Bust*, with two *Latin* Motto's, were struck in Honour of his Royal Highness's Victory. These were martial Times; and what with the Duke of *York's* Victory at Sea, and the Spiritual Courts Victories at Land, a *Presbyterian* cou'd not shew his Nose, either at Land or at Sea. The Duke hated *Presbytery* as much as he lov'd *Papery*; and, therefore, the Archdeacon drops his History to enter into *Encomium*. And now all Persons began more and more to look upon his
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Royal Highness; they hardly cast their Eyes upon him before, *who had so often maintain'd the Grandeur of his Birth, by his own personal Valour and Merit*: so often maintain'd; he means, when he and his *Spaniards* were beaten in Flanders by *Morgan and Cromwell's Men*. *He was now in the Height of his Glory*, I can say that. I say, the Height of his Glory was, when he conquer'd the Laws, took the Bishops Prisoners, and sent them to the Tower. *He enjoy'd most of the great Places of Profit*; Pugh, that's poor, and not at all suitable to the Grandeur of Birth, or the Glory of Triumph. *He was not only Lord High Admiral of England, Governor of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Portsmouth*; but *he had the Income of the Wine-Licences*. What a dreadful Fall is this, from *Lord High Admiral to Wine-Licences*!

Not only *London* shall proclaim thy Fame;
But *Islington* shall also do the same.

Or, as the *French Author* says of a great Duchess,

She there enjoy'd her lawless Loves,
And lost her *Honour*, and her *Gloves*.

It will always be so, when poor Materials happen in the Way of an Historian, whose Judgment is not, of it self, very rich.

In the Prosecution of this Orthodox War; he calls the *Dutch Schismatics* ungrateful, which, of all the Names in his Lexicon, did the least belong to them. How did they shew their Ingratitude in entertaining the King and his Followers, when no Body else wou'd; how did King *Charles* oblige them, but by taking their Money and their Presents. He himself tells us, *the Hollanders shew'd*

all

*all the Expressions of Joy ; from Rotterdam to the Hague the People made it look like a Street ; and their Acclamations were such, as if they had been the Persons that were restor'd to Peace. This was just five Years before the King declar'd War with them, and they became ungrateful by being beaten. At the Hague he was entertain'd for ten Days together with Triumphs and Festivals, in Splendor equal to the greatest Monarchies ; I wonder at it, for your Republicks are sorry little pitiful Things, that have no Show in the World about them ; as for Instance, Athens, Rome, Carthage, there never was any Sight there to be seen that was worth looking at. And as to the pretended Splendor of the Common-wealth of Venice, in the Marriage of the Adriatick, 'tis nothing to be compar'd to the Grand Signor and his Horse-Tail. The Festivals were concluded with several rich Presents made to his Majesty. From the Hague the King went to take Ship ; and among the rest of that plain Country, Mr. Echard assures us, that the Hills of Holland, the Mountains of Lincoln Levels, were throng'd with innumerable Multitudes ; his Majesty, mounting on the Stern of his Ship, cast his Eyes on the Friendly Ungrateful Shoar, and was pleas'd to say ; " I think my own
" Subjects can scarce have more Tendernefs for
" me than these People, in whose Affections I
" see I reign, no less than I am going to reign in
" the Wills of the English ;" so quaintly express'd, that one may be sure 'twas *Ex tempore*. Eight thousand of these loving Dutchmen were kill'd in the Duke's Battle ; two thousand threescore and three were taken Prisoners ; eighteen capital Men of War were taken ; fourteen more sunk and burnt ; and yet, Mr. Archdeacon cries out against their Ingratitude.*

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He gives us a pathetick Account of the Mortality in *London*, and a terrible Instance of the Corruption of Mens Manners, since the Day of *Felicity* dawn'd upon us: *In one House you might hear them roaring under the Pangs of Death; in the next* tippling, whoring, and blaspheming against God; *one House shut up, with* Lord have Mercy upon us; *the next open to all Uncleanneſs.* Yet, *Zeal* thriv'd, and laid about her, as if Piety and Virtue had been her Supporters, instead of Cruelty and Power.

The next grand Discovery, the Archdeacon makes, is an Intrigue between *Ludlow* and the *Dutch*; which, without doubt, will ſoon be follow'd by ſome Stinging Act. He holds up his Hands, in Admiration of the Wickedneſs of *Ludlow*, to think of coming to *England* without being hang'd for it; if he had come, it wou'd not have been, as the late Duke of *Ormond* intended five Years ago, with an Army of *Spaniſh*, *French*, and *Irish* Papiſts: But what, you'll ſay, is much worſe, with a Company of *Switzers*, *Dutch*, and *German* Schiſmaticks. He was attainted, and cou'd look for nothing but the Gallows. It cou'd not be worſe with him than it was. If he held Correſpondence with the States, it went not ſo far as at the Revolution, when, as I before related, he actually came to *England* without going to *Tyburn*. A Proclamation was iſſu'd to apprehend him; but he had timely Notice of it, and it is ſaid went back again with the *Dutch* Ambaſſador.

Aſſoon as the Parliament met at *Oxford*, to avoid the Plague at *London*; new Proofs were given of the Moderation and Charity of thoſe Calamitous Times; and inſtead of Contrition and Humiliation under ſo dreadful a Calamity, the Hag Perſecution liſts up her horrid Head, and ſhakes her Snakes like one of the Furies: I muſt ſhew

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shew my Parts too, and be rhetorical sometimes. She now goes by the Name of the *Five Mile Act*, by which all nonconforming Ministers were banish'd Five Miles from the Churches where they us'd to preach, and forbidden to come nearer to them, under the Penalty of 40 *l.* and six Months Jail for every Offence; which, with most of them, was as much as 40,000 *l.* for they could not pay a Quarter of it. There was no Remedy, but to take an Oath, that all those that should join the Prince of Orange, when he came to deliver the Church out of the only Danger she was ever in, since the Restoration, would be in a State of Rebellion and Perdition.

I A. B. do swear that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitereous Position of taking Arms, by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are commission'd by him, in Pursuance of such Commission; and that I will not at any Time endeavour any Alteration of Government, either in Church or State. This was strongly oppos'd by that loyal Peer and good Englishman, the Earl of Southampton, by the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the Lord Wharton, who was a great Patron of those poor persecuted Ministers. Mr. Locke tells us, *Those Lords did it not only out of Concern for them who were so severely handled, but, as it was, in itself, a most unlawful Oath.* Mr. Echard not only thinks it lawful, but laudable: *A most unjustifiable Oath! however, the Zeal of that Time easily pass'd it.* When Sir Edward the Speaker's Turn came to make his usual Speech, he thus notably harangues the King and Parliament. "While the Nonconformists were in the Bosom of the Church, they were only like inward Vapours and inward Bleedings, always oppressing and strangling the Body of the Church,

Maiz. Col.
p. 65.

“ *like Fits of the Mother.* Now these Jesuitical
 “ Leaders keep up the Spirits of their Followers,
 “ and herd with them in Cities and corporate
 “ Towns, *like so many Pigs in a Sty*; where, by
 “ the Pretence of Persecution, *without the least*
 “ *Shew of Reason*, they move the Pity of good-
 “ natur’d People, and spread their Contagion a-
 “ mong the Boys and Girls of the Nation.” He
 is not afraid of making use of that terrible Word
 Contagion, when London was under Visitation,
 and, he himself, with the whole Legislature, was
 flying from the Plague. *These Men seem to be en-*
tirely insensible of that tremendous Judgment,
 and are wanton in Cruelty, amidst Pestilence, and
 War. Speaker Turner again: “ For the Preven-
 “ tion of this growing Mischief, we have prepar’d a
 “ SHIBOLETH; a Test to distinguish those,
 “ who, out of Malice and evil Disposition, re-
 “ main obdurate. These we exclude from Cities
 “ and Corporations, like those that have an In-
 “ *fectious* Distemper, such as the *Itch*, the *Mange*,
 “ or the like.” This pious Bill did not come on
 without due Preparation: The Earl of Clarendon
 had a Speech too ready for it; and it is a great
 Addition to the Credit of his Lordship’s History,
 that there is so much Integrity in what he says:
Some have put themselves on board the Enemies
Fleet, purely out of Appetite and Delight to RE-
 BELLION: *Their Friends at Home impatient*
of further Delays, for the Success they had promis’d
themselves, to conquer the three Kingdoms, with
hardly three Companies of Soldiers. With the
promis’d Succours they made no Doubt of doing the
Business, if they could but appoint a lucky Day;
 so, now ’twill do. *And you had heard of them in*
all Places, at Berwick, and the Land’s End, upon
the Third of September, so much celebrated by
them. They will never forgive that same Third
 of

of September. If the great Vigilance and indefatigable Industry of the good General had not, two Days before, viz. on the First of September, apprehended the seditious Leaders, and given Advertisements for the Security of others; by the Confession of many of them, their wicked Design was enough manifested, and is ready for Justice. The old Work again, hang, draw, and quarter! Every Word of his Lordship's Speech is so likely, so probable, and so credible, that it needs no Recommendation; no Evidence but its own. However, the whole Truth of the Matter is, that this hateful Bill was in Favour of the Papists, who, with very good Reason, did not think themselves safe, as long as there was a Presbyterian left in a Conventicle. The Collector of the Debates in Parliament, A. D. 1680. writes thus, p. 212. "If this Oxford Act and other Laws against Dissenters are projected, in Favour of our Protestant Church, it was strange that they were so much promoted by Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir Solomon Swale, and Sir Roger Strickland, who were all Papists." His Majesty was pleas'd to take Notice to the Parliament, that another of these Plots had the same Proof the Lord Chancellor mention'd. The Plotters were hang'd, and after that there was no more to be said. I do not suppose his Lordship laugh'd, when he made this Speech, it being no laughing Matter; and, that many who heard him, were both astonish'd and terrify'd; but I could have believed that the Roundheads, on Board the Dutch Fleet, would as soon have dug the Island out of the Sea, as have made themselves Masters of it, with all the Succours they were in hopes of.

The main Promoters of the Five Mile Act, besides the three Popish Knights before-mention'd, were the Earl of Clarendon, Archbishop Sheldon,

and Bishop *Ward*, to their immortal Honour be it spoken. But that excellent Prelate, Dr. *Earl*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, labour'd with all his Might against it; insomuch, that dying soon after, the *Sticklers* for the Bill reckon'd it a Judgment, as Dr. *Calamy* informs us.

Here let us observe, that many of the Reverend Bishops and Clergy of our national Church were heartily and conscientiously against all these uncharitable, unchristian Proceedings. If these had not the Number, they had the Weight for Piety, Virtue, and Worth. Whatever appears in the Histories, this persecuting Spirit was abhorr'd by the truest Members of the *Establisht* Church, of which I could give many such Instances, as the worthy Bishop *Earl*. And, though the learned Dr. *Cosins*, Bishop of *Durham*, was at first of the Side of the Persecutors; yet, when his most serious Hour approach'd, when he had a Contempt for the Poms and Powers of this World, and had acquir'd more of the Divine Temper of the other, to which he was going, he order'd these Words to be added to his *last Will*, printed in *English* and *Latin*, with his Funeral Sermon and Life: *I take it to be my Duty, and of all my Brethren, especially the Bishops and Ministers of the Church of God, to do our utmost, according to the Measure of Grace which is given to every one of us, that at last an End may be put to the Differences of Religion, or at least they may be lessen'd.* The very eminent Bishop *Saunderson* made it his Request at his Death, that the *ejected Ministers* might be us'd again. Mr. *Echard* has seen the Memoirs from whence these Passages are taken; but we do not find so much as a Hint of them in his History. So far is he from being of the Opinion of Bishop *Earl*, Bishop *Cosins*, Bishop *Saunderson*, that he takes Pains to justify the *Five Mile*

Act

Act and Oath, which Mr. Locke says was most *unjustifiable*; and affirms, that the *Dissenters* deserv'd all these *Stings* for their Plots and Conspiracies, and that the Parliament did it all purely for Self-Preservation. Will such a Story bear Reflection! Add to this, that the *Scots Presbyterians* were mutinous and insolent: Therefore, the *Dissenting Ministers* in *England* ought not only to be driven from their Congregations, but their Habitations; the Reason and Humanity of which are alike remarkable. By this *Act*, says Mr. Locke, our Church became triumphant, and continu'd so for divers Tears; the dissenting Protestants being the only Enemy, and therefore only persecuted, while the Papists remain'd undisturb'd, being, by the Court, thought loyal, and, by our great Bishops, not dangerous, they differing only in Doctrines and Fundamentals; but as to the Government of the Church, that was, in their Religion, in the highest Exaltation. I leave the Reader to judge, whether it is possible for a Man to pretend to write without Prevarication or Misrepresentation, and not to have one Word of so much Truth in all his History! Will he say, that Mr. Locke misrepresents or prevaricates? Let him, if he thinks fit, do it; and see what the World will say of him. Sir William Temple, who was employ'd great Part of this Time in foreign Embassies, who heard what was said abroad of our very wise and charitable Proceedings here at Home, wrote thus to the Lord Arlington; *I wish we were at a good End of all the Business of Conventicles.* It is very plain, by what the Lord Clarendon said, in his Speech before cited, and what Mr. Echard has said, in almost every Page of his History, since the Restoration, That neither of 'em thought there could be so good an End of the Business, as to demolish both Conventicles and Conventiclers.

This Year, he informs us, dy'd *that* Incendiary, Dr. *William Spurstow*. He never paints a sober, religious, nonconforming Divine, but 'tis with a Firebrand in his Hand, setting every Thing about him in a Flame. Let any modest Man, *Jew, Turk, Infidel, or Heretick*, decide between us, of the Decorums to be observ'd towards a Writer, that can thus insult a Person, so justly and universally esteem'd. At the same Time he calls him an Incendiary, he contradicts himself, and owns he was of a *peaceable, humble* Disposition. His Dr. *Spurstow's* having been Master of *Katherine Hall, in Cambridge*, is no Restraint upon the Archdeacon.

1666.

The Wars and Politicks of these Times being much of a Piece, let the Historian have the sole Glory of relating them; which he does, with as much Pleasure, as if he was writing the Duke of *Marlborough's* Campaigns, or the Ministry of a *Somers, a Godolphin, or a Walpole*. We can't find out by him, that *France and England* understood one another perfectly well, when *Lewis XIV.* declar'd War against *Charles II.* He writes over the whole Story, as if all the Parties concern'd in the *Dutch War* were in earnest; and Affairs had been in as good Hands as they were twelve Years before, or forty Years after.

The best News we have from him is *Written News*, a *MS.* communicated to him, wherein is an Account of *Queen Katherine's* miscarrying of a Boy, or a Girl. He has forgot what he told us himself, that *Sir Robert Southwel* was *fully assur'd*, by the *Duchess of Guadiloupa, at Madrid*, a Lady who had been acquainted with her from her Infancy, and in her Nursery, that she was incapable of having Children. He has clear'd Chancellor *Hyde* of having the least Concern in the *Portugal Match*. He informs us, the Chancellor had

had a Closet full of Pictures of Protestant Princesses by him, for his Majesty to chuse one of them; but he *frown'd* and *swell'd*, gave the *Spanish* Ambassador the Lye, and commanded the Lord Chancellor to conclude the Treaty with *Portugal*, which he intimates, elsewhere, had been concluded three Years before by *Monk*. Why then does Queen *Katherine* miscarry? The Reason is evident. For if the Earl of *Clarendon* cannot be clear'd of transacting the Affair of the Marriage, he shall not be charg'd with chusing a barren Lady, on the Score of his own Daughter, marry'd to the presumptive Heir to the Crown. Queen *Katherine* not only could conceive, but did conceive; and lost the Birth by longing to see the King, who very seldom long'd to see her Majesty.

I believe, as he does, that, when King *Charles* declar'd War against *France*, he was not afraid of the *French*; nay, that he never was in the least afraid of them. I have my Reason for it, as well as he has his; but as opposite to each other, as Protestant and Papist. He insinuates, that few People had then any Fears of the *French* King; and it was a Year or two longer before he overrun *Flanders*, which incited *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*, to form the Triple Alliance against him; and all *Europe* was terrify'd at the Increase of this Empire. The *Historian* has printed a Letter of the *French* King to *Mons. D'Estrades*, his Ambassador in *Holland*; which is so full of Misrepresentation and Prevarication, that he could not but be charm'd with it.

What he says of the Fire of *London* has been justly expos'd by the Author of the *Ten Letters*, address'd to myself; and, though without my Privy, to my very great Satisfaction. The Archdeacon lays it at the Door of the *Dissenters*, and

does not entirely clear Colonel *Sydney* and General *Ludlow*, of being engag'd with five or six of *Oliver's* Foot-Soldiers to burn the City ; insinuating, therre were some good Church-men, who very much suspected that they had a Hand in it. This Fire-Plot had an under Plot, to kill General *Monk*, Alderman *Robinson*, and one Sir *Richard Brown*, a *Militia* Officer ; after which they were to have shar'd the Lands of *England*. I have frequently told *these Men*, that I would be contented with *Dramatical* Probability in their Narrations ; but, that having too near a Relation to Truth, they cannot be brought to it. I do not question but, General *Ludlow* did hold Correspondence with the *Dutch* Ministers of State, during the War with the King of *England* ; and that, if they would have furnish'd him with an Army, as they once offer'd to do, he would have landed with them, as also that *Ratbone* and his Brother Soldiers would have been among them ; but I can as soon believe *Ludlow* would have made the Historian one of his *Cabinet-Council*, as have trusted such a Crew, which Mr. *Echard* has list'd for him. The Historian's Treatment of the Honourable Colonel *Sydney*, and General *Ludlow*, two Names, that will be an Ornament to History, when his own is, together with the *Nelson's*, the *Heath's*, and the *Wagstaff's*, in the quiet State of Oblivion, justifies whatever I might take upon me to say of him. *Ludlow*, as much as he was in the Wrong, believ'd, doubtless, he was in the Right. That the King and his Ministers had unjustly stripp'd him of a large Fortune, and condemn'd him to an ignominious Death ; and that it was very lawful for him to make Reprisals : But he had too much good Sense and Honour, too much Bravery and Virtue, to do any Thing otherwise than by open Hostility, which, in his mistaken Opinion, was fair War.

War. The Laws were against him, and had made him so guilty, that nothing he could act against King *Charles II.* could have added any Thing to his Punishment. A Man of Courage and Spirit, in such Circumstances, cannot understand, how Tameness is a Duty, when a Military Revenge offers; and his entering into the Service of *Holland*, when his own Country had thrown him off, is doing no more than *Hannibal*, *Labienus* of old, the Prince of *Conde*, the Marechal *Schomberg*, in the last Age, and many other renown'd Heroes, have done on the like Occasion: But to think he would have made so pitiful a Wretch as *Ratbone*, his Brother-Plotter, and conspir'd with *Tucker*, *Flint*, *Cole*, *Evans*, *Sanders*, to kill the King's Majesty, his Grace General *Monk*, and his Worship, Sir *Richard Brown*, murders all Credibility, and renders Modesty useless. *Ratbone's* Plot, cries he, was a natural Concatenation with *Ludlow's* and *Sydney's*. As to Colonel *Sydney*, his Name and Character is too noble to admit of any Mixture with such History as his; and therefore I shall, out of Respect, forbear Reflection. I doubt not, the Reader will do it sufficiently for me. One would think he had brought these two eminent Soldiers and Authors, into this infamous Conspiracy, out of Spite to them, for setting the Practices and Politicks of the Earl of *Clarendon's* Worthies in their true Light.

I have spoken of the Third of *September* in the foregoing Pages. My Lord *Clarendon* built very much upon it in a Speech of his; and now Mr. *Echard* affirms, that the Common-wealth's-Men apply'd to a Conjurer; and he erected them a Scheme on Purpose, by which it appear'd that a Planet rul'd on the Third of *September*, A. D. 1666. according to the Computation of the Church of *England*, which prognosticated the Downfall of
Monarchy,

Monarchy, Ech. Hist. p. 842. l. 66. And, three Lines afterwards, he again positively affirms, the Third of September was a Day auspicious to One Party, the *Presbyterians* and *Republicans*. It is humbly conceiv'd, that two Thirds of the Wealth of the City was in the Hands of those whom he calls *Republicans*, *Presbyterians*, &c. and then nothing can be more likely, than that they would set it a-fire to ruin themselves and Families, out of Spite to the King and the Bishops. Contrary to his History and Sentiments, it is allow'd by the best Authority, and believ'd by the best *Englishtmen*, that the Fire, which burnt *London*, came from *Popish* Forges, as is plainly made out in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, Sir *Robert Brook* being Chairman, who inquir'd into this Matter. I cannot but think, those hellish Conspirators had some Meaning, even in the Day itself, when *Oliver* beat King *Charles's* Armies at *Dunbar* first, and afterwards at *Worcester*. It is very probable they pitch'd upon it to be reveng'd on the Day, as well as the City; which, as I have frequently hinted, is always represented by the *Papists* and their Abettors, as the Seat of *Sedition* and *Schism*, and the Nursery of Rebellion, by which, they mean, it is one of the Bulwarks of Liberty, and the Protestant Religion.

Not long after the Fire, the Parliament meets, being now the Life and Expectation of the Nation. After the two great Calamities of Pestilence and Fire, preceded by three or four Acts with Stings in their Tails, which had done no Manner of Service against any one but Protestant Dissenters; for the *Papists*, he owns it himself, met with no small Encouragement at Court; their Spirits were restless, and their Power encreasing. Indeed, there had been so many *Presbyterian* Plots, and not one *Popish*; so many Scores of *Fanaticks* hang'd, and not one *Papist*; that

that the Nation began to think some Care should be taken of their *restless Spirits*, as well as those of the Dissenters. The House of Commons address'd against them, and a Proclamation was accordingly publish'd to *suppress their Insolences*; which had just as much Success as such Sort of Proclamations had had, ever since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*.

What cou'd happen more opportunely to shut the Mouths that were open'd against these Popish Insolences, than a Rising of some Kirk-men in *Scotland*, under one *Lairmont*, a Taylor, General of their Horse. At which, says the Archdeacon, the Nation was alarm'd: He adds, most of the Captains were *Presbyterian* Ministers. These *Presbyterian* Parsons are strange fighting Fellows, if you'll believe him; tho', no doubt, the Orthodox Dr. *Hudson* before-mention'd, with his flaming Sword, wou'd have driven a Consistory of them before him. The Battle, between Lieutenant General Duke *Hamilton* and General *Lairmont*, was fought on *Pentland Hills*; and if you will not take that for a Battle, you are not like to have a better in this Reign. The Rebels did some Wonders; P. 834. but the *Royalists* did more, they routed the Kirk Rabble, took a Hundred of them, and hung 'em up; which they cou'd do as stoutly as any Men upon Earth.

I suppose we shall have no more favourite Acts, for the Historian begins to grumble at the Parliament; who, instead of giving Money, descend to impeach the Lord Viscount *Mordaunt*, who had been tried for his Life in *Oliver's* Time.

The next Proclamation, after that against the *Papists*, was one against the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had challenged the Earl of *Offory*, or been challeng'd by him, and pull'd the Marquess of *Dorchester* by the Perriwig. This important Proclamation

elamation, against the *Caterer* of his Majesty's Pleasures, has a Place in the Chronicle, to which I refer; as also for the long Impeachment of the Lord *Mordaunt*, about a Difference between him and *William Taleur*, Esq; a loyal Person of *Windsor*; which valuable *Particulars* are very well worth recording in a *general History*.

At the End of this Session of Parliament, we are inform'd Sir *Edward Turner* made a long Speech, longer even then the longest of his former ones; considering that he had no Stinging Act to felicitate the King and Parliament upon. The *Chronicler* takes Notice, that he spoke it after his *usual, graceful Manner*; and it was, without doubt, that same Gracefulness which drew the Speaker in to make so many Speeches, out of meer Wantonness of Speech; there being no Manner of Occasion for half of 'em. I have heard of a Lawyer, and he was by the same Token Counsellor, against the seven Bishops, whose Eloquence was in his Wig; the fuller the Bottom, the more round still were his Periods. But the Secret of Speaker *Turner's* Rhetorick lay in a certain Air of Delivery, which is not learnt in *Tully*, but in a *Looking-Glass*; as good Players study good Action.

There are some Remarkables in the Historiographer's Geography of this Year. He is pleas'd to send the reverend and eminent Mr. *Edward Calamy*, B. D. out of the World, with another Firebrand in his Hand. He too is a *Sacheverel*, or an Incendiary with him; tho' the King had so good Information of the Services he had done him, that he not only made him one of his Chaplains, but offer'd him a *Bishoprick*; which, one might be sure, an *Incendiary* wou'd have accepted of, without deserving it so much as he had done.

He assures us, that *James Shirley* was one of most celebrated *Dramatick Poets* of his Time; which

which I hint as a convincing Proof of the Historian's excellent Judgment in Poetry. *Shirley*, 'tis true, did write twice as many Plays as *Tom Durfey*, but they were not so good, if the Criticks know any thing of the Matter; he wrote *the School of Compliments*: *The Bird in a Cage*: *St. Patrick for Ireland*: Three of his celebrated Comedies, which I wou'd recommend to the Historian, to compare judiciously with the first, second, and third Parts of *Durfey's Don Quixot*; and as I make no Question but he wou'd think his Time well employ'd; so I believe he wou'd fall in with my Opinion, that *Durfey* was a greater Wit than *Shirley*, who out-wrote him, as to Number, but cou'd not come near him, as to Weight. The Historian's Scales seem to me to be very fit to try the Experiment. The Assistance which *Shirley* gave the Duke of *Newcastle*, in his more celebrated Dramatick Pieces, adds something to his Merit, as does his *Drudging* for *Ogilby*, mention'd by *A. Wood*. Mr. *Echard* informs us he did Honour to both Universities, and was bred both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. *A. Wood* says, he acquir'd the Skill of being a *School-Master* by that double Education, and his pregnant Parts; he wou'd certainly have done much better, if he had got a good Benefice; and why he did not, we shall see presently. *A. Wood*, Vol. II. p. 376. He was of *St. John's Coll. Oxon*, when *Dr. William Laud* was President; he had a great Affection for him, but often told him he was not fit to make a Clergyman, because he had a Mole upon his Cheek; however, he enter'd into Holy Orders; and, to shew how well he deserv'd to be belov'd by *Dr. Laud*, turn'd Papist, and became a Sufferer for the Royal Cause; the Parliamentarians being so voracious, that they devour'd poor Poet *Shirley*, tho' he lived by his Wits

3 only;

1667. only; and it is against all Laws Civil and Military to plunder a Poet, who has nothing else to live upon.

I will but touch upon the Insult committed by the *Dutch*, on the Navy of England, in the River of *Medway*, in the County of *Kent*. It being the most notorious Disgrace which ever happen'd to her *Maritime* Power; and wou'd have been sufficient, without Persecution and Oppression, to have render'd any Reign inglorious. The *Dutch* sail'd up the River *Thames* without Opposition, except from some Vessels that were sunk to stop them. They took *Sheerness-Fort*, in which Sir *Edward Sprague* commanded, broke thro' a Chain laid across the *Medway*, fought and burnt the great Guard-Ships *Matthias*, *Unity*, and *Charles the Fifth*; damaged many other Ships, took the *Royal Charles*, burnt the *Royal Oak*, and destroy'd the *Loyal London* and *Great James*, first Rates all; notwithstanding, the good Lord General, as Mr. *Echard* writes, the Duke of *Albemarle*, was got down thither with a Land Force, to fight the *Dutch* Fleet. Wou'd to Heaven, the Vigilance and Industry, which, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, General *Monk* exerted in preventing *Shrewsbury* and *Coventry's* being surpris'd by the Dissenters, had prevented this Ruin and Infamy, as effectually, as they did that of the Kingdom's being conquer'd by Capt. *Tarrington* of *Worcestershire*. There is nothing like it in all History, that a foreign Fleet shou'd throw the City of *London* into Consternation; I will not say, since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, but since the Death of King *Edgar*.

Blake's Ashes are dug out of his Grave, and mingled with the Dirt of the Street: Did he ever suffer an Enemy to appear within the four Seas, but at his Peril? The Enemy is now triumphant

in

in our very Rivers; and the Citizens of London tremble in their very Houses. *All Hands*, says the Archdeacon, *were at work; and, besides the Mustering of the Train-Bands, nine Ships were sunk at Woolwich; four Ships were sunk at Blackwall,* the Citizens thinking the safest Way to save their Ships was to sink them. These are the Days of the Historian's Felicity! *Platforms were furnish'd with Artillery, and Works rais'd in divers Places, to hinder the Dutch from coming up.* The only Thing that can be said, in Mitigation of this Infamy and Ruin, is what he himself informs us, that the *Dutch* had *English* Republican Pilots. There can be no Mischief done, but he will have the Protestant Dissenters have a Finger in it. Last Year they burnt the City of London; and this Year they burnt the Fleet at Chatham; what wou'd they not have done, had it not been for Mr. *Echard's* Stinging Acts! If really there were any such Republican Pilots, 'tis great Pity General *Monk* had not laid hold of them, that they might have received their very just Reward at *Tyburn*. All these Calamities had an Effect, at which the Historian is strangely surpris'd. The People were so saucy as to complain against the King's present Counsellors. He adds, *Such Victories had been obtain'd by the Arms of King Charles II. which, one cou'd not have imagin'd, would have been so soon obscur'd and tarnish'd, as they could not easily recover their former Lustre in this Victorious Reign.* Why cou'd he not honestly and fairly have said, *as never were recover'd,* and the formidable Maritime Power of England lost its Reputation, more in that one Day, than it cou'd recover in all her future Wars, till Admiral *Russel* establish'd it again, by the Victory at *La Hogue*. He endeavours to mend this very bad Matter, with a long Memorial of the Duke of

of *Albemarle's*; the Contents of which I shall never know. The *English* Ships are *taken, burnt, and sunk*. The *Dutch* are got off in Triumph. General *Monk* had nothing to oppose them with but a Land Army. Notwithstanding, which, the *Dutch* landed in *Essex*, frightened away the Militia, and swept the Cattle and Sheep off the Coast. This is not in his History, but 'tis as true, as if it were; which shall be prov'd at Demand. 'Twas not expected that those, who then lost the Honour of the Nation, wou'd ever retrieve it; and there are several Circumstances in his Narration, which are not likely to lessen one's Concern for so great a Loss and Shame, as that Sir *Edward Sprague* was not unfortunately beaten, but unfortunately absent. That getting aboard before the *Dutch* were quite gone, and being out with a small Squadron, he so maul'd them, that they were glad not to *run away*, but to fall down the River, for fear Sir *Edward* should have attack'd them. That, however, in their Fright they bid *Defiance* to the Town of *Harwich*; return'd upon Sir *Edward Sprague*, beat him at *Hull-Haven*, and soon fell down again to the *Buoy in the Nore*; leaving Sir *Edward* the Honour of not *pursuing them*; but, as the Archdeacon very cautiously, and yet honourably, expresses it, of *seeming to pursue them*. When *these Men* are in *Action* or *Council*, they will always have, or seem to have the better. I have told you often, that, during the whole Course of the *Civil War*, he wou'd not let any of his Friends have the worst of it; and it cannot be expected that he shou'd give ground, now he has so many Statutes on his Side, most of which are either repeal'd, or the Stings taken out them; tho' neither himself nor his Friends gave their Votes for it: These Statutes are the Things, and perhaps the only Things on which he builds the

Felicity

Felicity of the Times. He can't well do it upon the Plague! He can't do it upon the Fire! He can't do it upon the *Dutch War at Chatham!* What then is his Foundation but those *wholsome Severities*, which made so many thousand honest Protestant Families miserable, and none happy but those that delighted in Oppression and Cruelty? Sir *William Temple* had another Notion of Things, as appears by his Letter to the Lord *Arlington*, quoted by Mr. *Echard*; wherein, after a dismal Account of the Administration, which was in much the same Hands as it had been all along in the *Felicity Times*. He adds,

Multa gemens Ignominiam, Plagasq; Superbi Hostis,

And I am sure I would not desire to live, unless with Hopes of seeing ourselves one Day in another Posture. The Historian, on the contrary, would gladly enough have liv'd in those Days without any such Hopes, or desiring Affairs to be in any better Posture, than as they were situated by his favourite Acts.

Having concluded what he calls an *Inglorious Peace*, after so glorious a War, the Murmurs made it necessary to lay the Odium on some Prime Minister, which, in plainer Phrase, is laying the Saddle on the right Horse; and so the Earl of *Clarendon* was sacrific'd to the Malice of his Enemies, which was the more hard, for that the Earl had manifested an inflexible Steadiness in getting Act after Act, against the Liberties and Properties of Protestant Dissenters; which Mr. *Echard* terms a *Steadiness to the Constitution of the Church*.

Nothing can be more ungenerous than to speak indecently of Men in adverse Fortune; and tho' one has sufficient Provocation by the History of

the *Grand Rebellion*; the Dealing with the Non-conformists; the Exaggeration of Plots, and other such Doings, to tell what is told us; yet I will forbear, more, perhaps, out of Complacency to the Opinion of others than my own. The Arch-deacon's Account of his Lordship's Administration, abroad and at home, has some surprising Things in it in the Negative, and in the Affirmative; *He did not sell Dunkirk. He did not make the Portugal Match. He knew not of the Duke's marrying his Daughter. He did not build Dunkirk House. He did oppose Arbitrary Power. He did hinder a settled Treasure, &c.* The Parliament, in their Articles against him, alledge, *that he designed to govern the Kingdom by a standing Army.* In a Word, the Parliament's Affirmatives and Negatives, relating to the Lord Clarendon, are the very Reverse of Mr. Echard's; and consequently his History must needs be most sincere and impartial, according to his own Character of it. Is it not a Wonder, that he shou'd, at all Ventures, stand by this Earl so stoutly, when such good Church-men as Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Thomas Osborn, and Sir Charles Wheeler were against him; but then he'll say there were as good for him, as Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir Edward Thurland, Sir John Erampston, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Coventry, Sir John Talbot, and the Earl's own Son, Mr. Lawrence Hyde. Sir Edward Seymour impeached him of High-Treason at the Lords Bar; and the Impeachment ended in his leaving the Kingdom, and living once more in Exile, which lasted as long as his Life. He and Ludlow are now both in Banishment, at Leisure to finish their several Histories; and as the one chose a Popish Country for his Retreat, and the other a Protestant, no wonder there is so great Difference in their Memoirs; or that both have a *Tinge* of the Place.

The

The Story of the *Triple League*, which was broken as soon as made, and perhaps made with a Design only to be broken, is mention'd by Mr. *Echard*, as taking its Rise from King *Charles's* being apprehensive of the *Flowings* of *France*, and the *Ebbings* of *Spain*. So apprehensive was he of these *Flowings*, that he sacrific'd the *Triple Alliance* to turn them into *Inundations*, which overwhelm'd the Country he had leagu'd to protect; and became an Ally to the *French King*, for the Destruction of *Holland*.

Tho' the Earl of *Clarendon* was gone, yet there remain'd some Men still, who in some Things cou'd see almost as well as his Lordship; as that *Popery* had its Growth under Colour of indulging Dissenters, and out comes a Proclamation against the *unlawful Assemblies of Papists and Nonconformists*, which against the *Papists* was put in Execution, as the former ones had been; but, against the Protestant Brethren, had full Force and Effect, which adds very much to the Felicity of the Times.

The eighth Session of Parliament broke up, without a Speech from the King; nay, what is much more strange, without a Speech from the Speaker. 1668.

It has been hinted, that our Historian is an incomparable Critick in *Poetry*; and, after *Davenant's Gondibert* had been dead about some thirty Years, he endeavours to bring it to Life again, and the Name of it is now sure to live, at least as long as his History.

I am really tir'd with the frequent Instances I meet with of Presumption and Arrogance in these Writers, when they speak of Men infinitely their Superiors, in Piety, Virtue, Learning, and Merit. One of them, our Historian, mentions the *Comprehension* carried on this Year, by the Lord

Keeper *Bridgman*, Judge *Hales*, Bishop *Wilkins*, Dr. *Tillotson*, on the Church Side: On that of the *Dissenters*, by Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, three of as great Names as were then in the learned World of the *Divinity-Line*. These are, in his History, term'd *Whiffling Fellows*; and the whole Representation of that Matter is false: *There were no Tergiversations nor Cavils*. There was a *Project of Compliance*; Sir John Baber *did not give the Dissenters over*. *The Lord Keeper did not grow weary*; *the Dissenters did not make fresh Demands at every Meeting*; all which Untruths are very confidently asserted by a nameless Libeller, whom he is himself ashamed of; but is, nevertheless, accountable for all the Scurrility and Falshood which are ingrafted into his History, whatever remarkable Ground they at first grew in. The Fact is thus, as you'll find it in Dr. *Calamy*, p. 316. & seq. The Lord Keeper *Bridgman* sent for Dr. *Manton* and Mr. *Baxter*, and gave them Proposals for a *Comprehension* between the *Episcopalians and Presbyterians*, and for an Indulgence to other Dissenters; Mr. *Baxter* desired some Things to be added to those Proposals. Bishop *Wilkins* declared he also desired it; but more would not pass with the Parliament, which brings his Lordship too, under the Character of one of the Historian's *Whiffling Fellows*. The Articles agreed upon were drawn into an Act by that religious, upright, and learned Judge, the Lord Chief Justice *Hales*. The Lord Keeper *Bridgman* agreed to back it in Parliament, if it could have made its Way thither; but Bishop *Wilkins* having frankly open'd the Matter to Bishop *Ward*, to have had his Concurrence in it, that severe Prelate, forgetting that he had been a Presbyterian and Independent, that he had taken the Covenant and the Engagement against King and Bishops,

Bishops, so bestirr'd himself and all his Friends, and made such a Party in the House of Commons, that it being put to the Question, whether the Bill shou'd be brought in or not, it pass'd in the *Negative*. Sir *John Baber* was so far from being weary of the *Dissenters*, that his Majesty made Use of him afterwards to carry a Message to them, intimating that, tho' the Bill did not pass, he inclin'd to favour them, and an Address from them wou'd be acceptable; accordingly an Address was presented to the King. in the Earl of *Arlington's* Lodgings, and graciously receiv'd by him, his Majesty promising to do his utmost to get them comprehended in the *publick Establishment*. This favourable Disposition of the King gave Offence, as he informs us, to such, as out of *Conscience* possess'd large Revenues and Powers, High Titles, and Prerogatives; for the pious, virtuous, and moderate Divines, were ever ready to fall in with any Measures, which tended to promote Christian Union.

As soon as he has gotten an Act of Parliament on his Side, he has nothing in his Mouth but the *present Laws*, the *legal Constitution*, the *lawful Administration*, and the like; but if the *Act* makes against him, there is either some Flaw in it, or it was surreptitiously obtain'd, or it had no Power against the *Divine Right*, handed down from one Apostle to another, in a most *natural Concatenation*.

This impudent Attempt of the *Dissenters*, to reunite themselves to our Holy Church, so exasperated Dr. *Sheldon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he wrote a Letter to all the Bishops of his Province in which, as in a Glass, one may see every Feature of a primitive, apostolical Prelate, so much Holiness, so much Meekness, so much Charity, so much Forbearance. I wish it was order'd to be read in Churches on every *Statuteable Day*, except the

Fifth of November. The Persecuting of Dissenting Protestants is call'd a *Blessed Work*; and all Rectors, Vicars, Curates, &c. are commanded to wear the Priestly Habit, Surplice, and Hood, *that they may give Honour to God*. They are directed to find out all *Nonconformists, Holders, Frequenters, Maintainers, Abettors of Conventicles, under P R E T E N C E of Religious Worship*; and by calling in the Justices of the Peace, Constables, Informers, and other proper Instruments, the most civil and sober of the Neighbourhood, to seize them, and suppress them; and, to set an Example himself, *Phillips's Steward* was made a Justice of Peace, and sign'd a Warrant to send *Mr. Baxter* to *New-Prison*, in *Clerkenwell*, for six Months, to take up his Dwelling with Whores and Thieves. *Mr. Echard* tells us of this Circular Epistle, without any the least Concern for the Scandal of it to Christianity. Nay, he intimates, that those of the Ministry, that were for Charity and Indulgence to our Fellow Christians, were *Fools*; and these, that were for plundering them and jailing them, were the *Wise Men*. The most Reverend Father's Enquiry made such an Impression on the more discerning Part of the Ministry, that the King was prevail'd upon to issue his Proclamation against Preachers. The Archbishop, in his Epistle, asserts more than once, that the Persecution was for *the Honour of God and the King*; the Religion and Reason of which are equally conspicuous. On the contrary, some Lay Lords, the Earl of *Orrery*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, intimated to the King, that these Jailings and Plunderings were not for his Service. Accordingly his Majesty sent Sir *John Baber*, the same, who was so weary of the *Presbyterians*, to visit *Mr. Baxter*, then in *Clerkenwell Jail*, and tell him, that under-

standing

standing there was an Error in his *Mittimus*, *he wou'd not be offended, if he sought his Remedy, tho' he was not willing to be seen to relax the Law.*

While the Church was govern'd by such Prelates, as Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Ward*, &c. and the Parliament had not yet open'd their Eyes, to see the Folly and Danger of Disunion among Protestants; we have little Reason to hope for *Relaxation*, but much to expect new Acts, and new *Stings*: The rather, for that the Historian's Heart is at Ease still, and we shall hear something of that grateful Kind from him 'ere it be long.

A new Session of Parliament brings on new Speeches; and he does not shorten the Lord Keeper *Bridgman's*, because there's no Need of it; if there had, it had been the same Thing. Sir *Edward Turner's* wanted Abridgment with a Witness, but he wou'd not bate us a Syllable; the Lord *Clarendon's* were much longer, than the Lord Keeper *Bridgman's*, yet they are all at full Length, and are admirably well adapted to the Size of a Folio History. There must be two Years more, before the Parliament will begin to undo all that they have been doing, and lose very much the good Graces of the Archdeacon. As yet, it is well enough; and they in a Body thank'd the King for his Proclamation, to shut up Pulpits, and open Prisons; which the Historian tells us with inexpressible Pleasure, in-somuch, that, like the Man in the Farce, one might be afraid he wou'd tickle himself to Death.

The State History of this Session is without Parallel, and shews us how much the Welfare of the Nation depended on the Courage and Conduct of the good Lord General. " Information
" was given to the House from General *Monk*, of
" the great Resort of dangerous and disaffected
" Persons to this Town, and of the *Meetings* to
" disturb the publick Peace; and that he had,
C c 4 " and

“ and would take Care, what he could, to prevent
“ their Attempts.” Upon which the Commons
immediately resolv’d; *That the Thanks of the
House be return’d to the Lord General for his Care,
to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom.* If one cou’d
have a History-Book of all such true Matter as
this, wou’d it not be as precious as the golden
Sayings of *Pythagoras*. But tho’ the Story is, in
itself, of such Dignity; yet the Remark upon it
is as false and groundless, as Error and Malice
can make it. The Parliament, according to our
Historian, did not deal so hardly by *Meeting-
Houses*, because they believ’d Men went to them
to worship God in a Protestant Way; but because
they did verily believe their only Business, there,
was to plot the Destruction of the King, the two
Houses of Parliament, and all the Cathedrals,
Churches, and Chapels in the Kingdom. His own
Words are these, *So that the suppressing of Meet-
ing-Houses was now look’d upon, not so much a Mat-
ter of Religion, as of Necessity and Safety to the
Government.* As if the Parliament had seriously
any other Meaning, in what they did or said to
General Monk, than to humour him with a *Thank
ye, Sir*; which the old Gentleman very plainly
begg’d of them, when he was just going out of the
World. Himself had been a Presbyterian, and
an Independent, a *Covenanter*, and a *Cromwellian*.
Nay, after the King’s *Restoration*, he was a Hear-
er of Mr. *Calamy*, as by a good Token: That
Divine preaching on a Sacrament-Day, to an Au-
ditory of industrious thriving Citizens, had Occa-
sion to speak of *Filthy Lucre*; and *why*, said he,
*is it call’d Filthy, but because it makes Men do base
and filthy Things*; he added, *some Men will be-
tray three Kingdoms for Filthy Lucre Sake*, say-
ing which, he wav’d his Hankerchief towards the
Pew where General Monk sat.

We

We all remember the Time, when the Duke of *Marlborough* return'd victorious from *Flanders*, having struck Terror into the very Court and Capital of *France*; but his Friends could not get him any Thanks for it. The same principled People were then prevalent, as those that thank'd General *Monk* for having an Eye upon the *Presbyterians*. Thus, we see a Man is thank'd, or not thank'd, according as they like either his Cause or his Countenance. I believe, had the Historian printed and publish'd in those Days, he would have been thank'd as well as the General.

The Affairs of *Scotland* are only remarkable for Duke *Lauderdale's* being at the Head of them, as he had been at the Head of the *Covenanters* some Years before. He had also been a Bigot to *Presbytery*, and was now a Zealot for the Church, at the same Time that he was Prime Minister to the pleasurable Part of the Court of both Sexes. Being Lord High Commissioner of *Scotland*, he made a Speech too, wherein he informs the *Scots*, that his most sacred Majesty, King *Charles*, would punish all *Atheism*, *Profanity*, and all that was contrary to true Religion and Holiness. In the next Place, He would maintain the antient Government by *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, as a sure Fence for the Reform'd Religion, which, it seems, had no Fence at *Geneva*, in *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Holland*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Poland*, &c. His Grace of *Lauderdale* had a clever Head of his own, and could shew it too, upon Occasion. He had himself made many a long Prayer in the Consistory; but it was, when he was in a State of Reprobation, and visited unlawful Assemblies, which tended to Sedition and Schism, to use his own Words, in direct Opposition to the Lessons of *John Knox*, the *Scots* Apostle, and to his own Lessons, when he was himself an Elder: The Government of Arch-
bishops

bishops and Bishops is most suitable to Monarchy. There are no Bishops in the State of *Venice*, that of *Lucca*, and other *Papish Republicks*. *Well might that Government be call'd antient*; for whosoever will look into *Antiquity* will find *Episcopal Government*, such as his Highness the Bishop of *Munster*, or his Eminence the Archbishop of *Toledo*, continu'd in the whole *Catholick Church*, both East and West, North and South, even from the *Time of the Twelve Apostles*. He was an excellent *Antiquary*, and knew *Church-History* as well as he practis'd *Church-Divinity*. If we had no *Body's Word* else for it, one would take his in a Thing so plain and indisputable. *Mr. Echard* tells us farther, The enlarging of the King's *Prerogative and Grandeur* was much owing to the *Management of the Lord Commissioner Lauderdale*. Here follow *Felicities* after *Felicities*. Having made the King's Power absolute and arbitrary, he strain'd the Royal *Prerogative* to all Kinds of *Excesses*, and assum'd to himself a lawless *Administration of Affairs*: He gave *Grants and Pensions*, levy'd *Forces*, &c. Of such Materials does his immortal History consist. True it is, this Period is so barren of every Thing great and historical, that a Reign of twenty Years may very well be brought into as many Pages, by leaving out *Speeches, Proclamations, Addresses, Persecutions, Plots, Creations, Places, Sports and Pastimes*.

The Archdeacon enlarges on the Royal Favours to the See of *Salisbury*, for the Credit and Benefit of *Dr. Seth Ward*, the Bishop, who, like *Lauderdale*, forgot the *Covenant*, and his Engagements with the *Rump*, by whom he was made *Astronomy Professor at Oxford*, in the Place of *Mr. John Greaves*, ejected for his Loyalty. The same Year, he took an Oath to be faithful to the Commonwealth of *England*, as it was then establish'd,
without

without a King, or House of Lords. Many Presbyterian Ministers were outed of their Livings, for refusing this Oath; and many Presbyterian Ministers were imprison'd and impoverish'd by him afterwards, for refusing the Oaths impos'd upon them, after the King and House of Lords were restor'd. That I may not be charg'd with Partiality, in the Character of this Favourite Prelate, let us see what the very Orthodox *A. Wood*, the *Oxonian*, says of him: "About his Majesty's Restoration, in 1660. he endeavour'd to make his Loyalty known, by being imprison'd at Cambridge; by his Ejection; his writing against the Covenant, and I know not what; but not a Word of his cowardly Wavering for Lucre and Honour Sake, of his putting in and out, and occupying other Mens Places for several Years,"

Vol. II.

p. 1171.

What the Historian says, in his *Biography*, of Serjeant *Wylde*, is another Proof of his exemplary Sincerity and Impartiality. He says, as positively and solemnly as if he had his Hand upon upon the Bible, Serjeant *Wylde* acquitted Major *Rolph*, who had been accus'd, and prov'd guilty of designing to murder or poison the King, which he would not allow to be Treason, and had a Thousand Pounds for it. I beg the Reader to consider a little such Passages as these, when he may incline to think I should be softer-mouth'd. *Rolph* was not prov'd guilty, but the quite contrary. *Wylde* did not acquit him, but the Grand Jury, Gentlemen of *Hampshire*, who threw out the Bill of Indictment, as we are inform'd by *Whitlocke*. If he speaks Truth, the Historian does not speak it; and the Circumstances corroborate *Whitlocke's* Account of it. There was a malicious Complaint against *Rolph* to the House of Lords, who committed him, and it occasion'd a Difference between the two Houses of Parliament; the *Commons* al-

ledging,

ledging, he was *committed without Cause*. Mr. Echard says, "Twas with so much *Cause* that he was *prov'd guilty*. The *Commons* say, There was *great Reason* to clear him. Mr. Echard says, the Reason was a *Thousand Pound* given to Judge *Wylde* for a Bribe. *Rolpb* himself press'd for a Trial, but the Grand Jury return'd *Ignoramus* on the Indictment; after which he deliver'd a Remonstrance in the House of Lords against his Prosecutors, and desir'd Reparation; upon which it was order'd, that he should have 150 *l.* for his *unjust Imprisonment*. The Archdeacon intimates, that it was just, and he would have been hang'd, if he had had his Due.

1670.

The next Session of Parliament opens with another Plot carry'd on by the *Presbyterians*; which, says Mr. Echard, rous'd the House of Commons. He takes them to be asleep, when some *wholsome* Act or other is not going forward. This Plot consists only of a *dangerous Meeting-house* in the West. I should have thought it had been as full of *Gunpowder* as the *White Tower* us'd to be; but there was nothing found in it, but some Words that look'd *Rumpish*, i. e. *Treasonable*. He does not tell us what the Words were that were found there; but that there were Orders given for prosecuting the Traytors, and for bringing in a new Bill against Protestant *Dissenters*. The Reader will be pleas'd to observe, that there has not one such Bill been offer'd, but it had some such Plot to make Way for it. This Disguise is so very apparent, that I can't help thinking of a pretty Tale related of a Lord *Banbury*; who, having a Piece of Bread and Butter in his Hand, when he went to receive some Visitors, hid it behind him, that those he led into his House might not see it. This new Bill laid Penalties upon Persons, meeting above Five at a Time,

a Time, to say their Prayers, and read the Bible at a Neighbour's House. Every Man, Woman, and Child, above a certain Age, was to pay

For the First Offence	_____	1. 05
For the Second	_____	10
A Teacher of the Gospel, for the First Offence	_____	} 20
For the Second	_____	
For the Entertainer of such Teacher	_____	40 20

For those that knowingly suffer'd Preachings in any Barns, Malt-houses, Out-houses, Stables, Coach-houses, Waggon-houses, Yards, Orchards, within Doors or without, in the Garret or Cellar, 'tis all one, 20 l. for every Preaching; no Sermon, no Prayer, but as the Statute directs. On the passing of this Bill, we are told that Dr. *Ward*, above-mention'd, fell furiously to Work, and prosecuted many Hundreds in the Diocese of *Sarum*, for worshipping God in the very same Way, he us'd to worship him before he was a Bishop. Two, in particular, he would have ruin'd beyond Recovery, had it been in his Power. The one was Mr. *Metbuen*, a wealthy Clothier of *Bradford*, whom he follow'd so closely, that he was forc'd to leave off his Trade, which was as beneficial to the Publick as himself, there being no less than 4000 Hands to a petition to the King, setting forth, that the Subscribers were all, some Way or other, employed by, and had their Subsistence from Mr. *Metbuen*; who had been so harra's'd by the Bishop's Prosecution, that he was oblig'd to let his Looms stand still, and consequently so many Thousands wanted Bread. No Matter for that, cries good Dr. *Seth Ward*, No Common-Prayer, no Broad Cloth. But the King thought otherwise, and

and gave Order that Mr. *Meibuen* should not be interrupted by Proctors, Paritors, Informers, Constables, and other such *Riff-Raff*. The other Gentleman was *Thomas Grove*, Esq; a Member of Parliament, who defended himself at Law, but was cast; which he was sure to be, and therefore ill advis'd to trust his Cause to the Law, at that Time of Day. He was at last oblig'd, in his old Age, to forsake his dear Country, as did Multitudes more in that and the neighbouring Diocese, *Bath and Wells*. *These Laws were on a civil Account*, according to Mr. *Echard*, and always upon *fresh Provocation*; He means the Plots. However, 'twas a long while before *these Men* could bring King *Charles* to set the Hangman to work, under Pretence of Plotting and Conspiring.

Among all the Qualities of an Historian, those of Modesty and Moderation are most amiable. Mr. *Echard*, from one End of his Book to the other, is always vaulting upon the high Rope, and treating himself as the first Writer of the Age. I have prov'd him, in many Instances, to be the greatest *Secret History-Man* that ever wrote. He has given us the *Chit-Chat* of Tobacco and Tea-Tables, the Hearsay of Women and Children; yet assumes to himself the Character of *Superior Historiographer*.

When he comes to the second *Dutch War*, which was the sole Effect of a secret League with *France*, for establishing Popery and Arbitrary Power, he takes upon him to assert, that it was begun by the *Dissenters*, who kept a *close Correspondence* with the *Dutch*, who were always setting them against an absolute Government. This he fairly declares he had from a *French Jesuit*, *Pere Orleans*, whom he does not name, because he would be thought to deal in Manuscripts. *The Jesuit's Account of the Cabal*, says he, seems more material than most of
the

*the Secret Histories that have been written upon it ; which is the very Reverse of Truth, and so notorious a Misrepresentation, that himself, eight or ten Lines after, copies from Abbot Primi's Secret History, written by Command of Monsr. Colbert, which he owns to be the most authentick Account, notwithstanding what he had before said of Father Orleans's. He delights in Characters as Children do in Babies ; and, when my Lord Clarendon cannot help him, the French Jesuit does. From him he takes that of the Cabal, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, Lauderdale. The only profess'd Papist among them was Clifford, who, he assures us, p. 865. was superior to all of them. It pleases me to see his Partiality here, because I have the Character of that Lord from Mr. Locke, who, in the Comparison between Clifford and Ashley Cooper, says, *The latter was as daring, but more able.* And, indeed, Mr. Echard himself forgetting what he had said before, and three or four Lines after tells us, that *Ashley Cooper was superior to Clifford, a fitter Man for weighty Undertakings ;* though there too he gives you such a Picture of that Great Man, as wants nothing but a Tail to make a Devil of him, a true Devil of him. *He was the more dangerous, since, having no Regard to Religion and Conscience, it was the easier for him to contrive Mischief, as never being daunted by the Multitude, or Heinousness, of any Crimes, if he thought them necessary, either to preserve himself, or destroy the Provokers of his Hatred. This is the very Man whom Mr. Locke so highly extols for the Soundness and Steadiness of his Principles above Bribery or Menace, and for the Greatness of his Abilities and Knowledge of Affairs. Either Mr. Locke, or he, must be guilty of Misrepresentation, and, on that Foot I leave it. I am sure there need no more Words about it.**

Speaking

Speaking of the Interview between King Charles II. and his Sister the Duchefs of Orleans, at Dover, he tells us, Much has been written of it *severe*, much *scandalous*, and most *uncertain*, which has stuff'd up Libels and *Secret Histories* again. When he had the most voluminous Libel, that has come from the Press, since the Reformation, under his Thumb, and a History of *Secretcies*, which would have been of more Value, had they been left to Tradition, for the Sake of old and young Women, Boys and half Wits, who delight in the laudable Diversion of *Tale-telling*. What he prints, out of Abbot *Primi's* Book, was recommended to him by the Author of one of those *Secret Histories*; who, though he dares not pretend to a Competition with so masterly a Writer, with respect to Judgment and Eloquence, will never consent that the Authority of his History shall be brought into Comparison with the Arch-deacon's. The Account, that Author gives of the above-mention'd Interview, is the largest and truest extant; upon the Proof of which, he will join Issue with the Historian to determine of his Information and Sincerity.

What are the *scandalous* Things said of the King's meeting with his Sister! Can any Body say worse than he does, That she brought over a Harlot with her, and gave her to her Brother? He observes *Decorum* to a Nicety, and is extremely tender towards the agreeable Vice of Gallantry, which he so wounds, as not to offend an amorous Earl. An old *Round-head* Protestant would have call'd her by her Right Name, and would have been hang'd, before he would have paid a Compliment to *Fornication* and *Adultery*. I do not say I am in the least angry with the Reverend Historian, for his Complacency on this Occasion. *The Duchefs of Orleans left behind her a beautiful Attendant,*

tendant, *Madam Carwel*, who prov'd a great Object of the King's Affection, the enchanting Duchess of Portsmouth. Did the Successors of the Apostles think and write thus, in the three first Centuries? Are these the Complacencies of Divines, who are to confess and absolve, when they speak of *Adultery and Fornication*? Are there Tendernesses for Lewdness and Impiety? She was no *Presbyterian*, that's certain, and rather confirm'd her Gallant in an Hatred of *Hugonots*, than dispos'd him to dissemble still a Concern for the Protestant Religion, himself being as good a Catholick as she was. Himself, all the while he was passing the Acts for the Security of stanch Church-men, and the Ruin of *Dissenters*, was as zealous a *Papist* as any Man could be, with such a Portion of Zeal for any Religion.

Madam was poison'd when she return'd to *France*; and, it is generally believ'd, by Creatures of her Husband, who had entertain'd some Jealousies of her Conduct. This is what the Historiographer means by *Scandalous*; and he takes his whole Narrative on this Head, from the *Secret History* and Abbot *Primi's*.

I wonder'd at first, why he did not say as many kind Things of the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* and his Speeches, as he had done of the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* and his Speeches; but I found afterwards it was because the former had offended him, by shewing some Signs of Humanity towards our Brother Protestants, the *Nonconformists*. The Earl of *Clarendon* and Sir *Edward Turner's* Speeches are Gospel with him: But now that Sir *Orlando* tells the Parliament, as he was directed, what the King wanted for a War, he says, the *Commons* took all for granted; they were impos'd upon by the King and his Lord Keeper. He is so familiar with them, for their making no more stinging Acts, and so

angry with the King, for his putting a small Stop to Persecution, which was then raging all over *England*, against the poor innocent *Dissenters*, some of whom dy'd in Jayls; some were starv'd, together with their Families: All of them were hunted and harrafs'd, and, like the Dove out of the Ark, had no where to set a Foot of Peace upon. The Archdeacon is all this while in a very gay Humour, and every Thing goes swimmingly, till an abominable Indulgence to scrupulous Consciences ruffles him again.

The next gross Misrepresentation is, that the worthy Mr. *Jekyl*, an eminent Citizen of *London*, was guilty of committing or plotting *Bribery*, to screen some Protestant *Dissenters* from Prosecution by the Magistrates. Sir *Joseph Sheldon*, the Archbishop's near Kinsman, was one of the Justices who sent Mr. *Jekyl* to *Newgate*, Sir *Samuel Sterling*, and an obscure Piece of *Chivalry*, Sir *Andrew King*, being the other Two. The Parliament, who had pass'd all those before-mention'd glorious Bills, approve of their being put in Execution by the said *King*, *Sterling*, and *Sheldon*. Mr. *Jekyl* brought his Action against *King*; and the Serjeant at Arms had him immediately by the Shoulder, for so doing. That Sir *Samuel Sterling* was one of the meanest Creatures, as to Intellects, that ever had a *Cap of Maintenance* carry'd before him; and yet he had as great a Share of Zeal as
 1671. his Capacity was capable of. In his *Mayoralty*, several worthy Citizens were fin'd and imprison'd by a Judge at *Guild-hall*, for not finding certain *Quakers* guilty of violating the last Conventicle Act. They appeal'd, and sought Remedy; the Judges remain'd about a Year in Suspence; and then, by the Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan*, deliver'd their Opinion against Sir *Samuel Sterling's*
 Judge

Judge, for the Subjects Freedom from such Sort of Fines. He dilated upon it in a Speech of two or three Hours, which was receiv'd with great Joy and Applause by the People; and, says Dr. *Calamy*, the Judges were cry'd up as the *Pillars of Law and Liberty*. What Sort of Pillars, then, were those that corrupted the Law, and broke in upon Liberty by six or seven Statutes, which this Giving and Taking Parliament had so freely bestow'd upon Dr. *Sheldon* and his Brethren?

The best of his Manuscripts come from Sir *Gilbert Talbot*: The first was about a Negotiation with the Commonwealth's-Men of *Venice*, to help King *Charles I.* against the Commonwealth's-Men of *England*. The second was about a Treaty with the Great *Turk*, to enter into an Alliance with that King against the Parliament of *England*, which have both been mention'd already. And the third Manuscript, which Sir *Gilbert* furnish'd him, with was about that Rogue *Blood*, as the Archdeacon very justly calls him.

In giving us a Relation of the Duchess of *Tork's* turning *Papist*, he indiscreetly mentions again the Mischief done by the Writings of *Peter Héylin*, upon whose Foundation he raises so many of his Structures. *Heylin* gave such a base Account of the *Reformation*, and the *Reformers*, that the Duchess learnt to hate both the one and the other, and to be in love with *Popery* and *Papists*. She said, her Conversion was owing chiefly to her reading Dr. *Heylin's History of the Reformation*; for which, if it was so, it ought to be burnt by the Hangman, as *Sacheverel's* Sermons and the *Oxford Decree* were. Has Dr. *Burnet's History of the Reformation* made one Convert to *Popery*; and is not that the true Cause of its having been treated by *Wharton*, *Hicks*, and other such Writers,

with so much Insolence and Malice? We should not be so angry with *these Men*, for espousing Popish Principles, if they would own themselves *Papists*. Were they really such, our Moderation and Charity ought to be extended towards them, as well as towards other Christians, as far as it consists with the Safety of the Constitution; but while that happy Constitution is Protestant, and they cannot enjoy any Ecclesiastical Emoluments without professing Protestantism, and going by that Denomination: They are Enemies in the Bosom of our Church, and have the better Opportunities to betray and undermine her. Why does not the Archdeacon tell us, the Duchess of *Tork* declar'd, she was much excited to renounce the Reform'd Religion by another Church of *England* Minister, Dr. *Blanford*, Bishop of *Worcester*; and another Bishop, who acknowledg'd that the Church of *Rome* was a *Primitive Christian* Church, which she thought had then a Right to her Obedience, on the score of Primogeniture.

The Opening of the second *Dutch* War was as foolish, as the Closing of it was scandalous; and the Story of it is handsomely interrupted, with his fine Description of the keeping a Feast for St. *George* for *England*; of the Wine which was spilt at *Cambridge*, in Honour of his Majesty; of the Lord-Mayor's Dinner, and with a Manuscript of Sir *Gilbert Talbot* again, about *Blood's* stealing the Crown; upon which *Andrew Marvel* wrote a Couplet, that is in every one's Mouth, and therefore I omit it. This Piece of History takes up twice as much Room, as the Battles of *Blenheim* and *Ramillies* wou'd do. After he has painted *Blood* in proper Colours, and call'd him as many Villains as his Villainies deserve; he charitably insinuates, that the Dissenters were in the Plot with

with him to steal the Duke of Ormond. *Blood pretended such an Interest and Sway among the Dissenters, as if he had been their General, and had them all enter'd in his Muster-Roll. His sorry Plea of the Word, Pretended, does not excuse him; he will be understood, as he intended, to have involv'd the Nonconformists in the Guilt of Blood's Wickedness.*

Having sufficiently abus'd Mr. Vavasor Powell, and Mr. Edward Bagshaw in his *Biography* of this Year : *These Sort of Persons, says he, ought not to escape in History; under Pretence of painful and powerful Preaching, they have been able to seduce Multitudes, &c. incredible Mischief. I do sincerely believe, that the reverend Historian never did the least Mischief that Way, nor ever seduc'd one Mortal, by either Power or Pains in the Pulpit. These Men endeavour to turn true Seriousness into its contrary Ridicule, when they have Wit enough to nibble at it; and there is no Divine Operation of the Holy Spirit, which they have not attempted to reduce to Raillery by pitiful Cant, and idle Mimickry. 'Tis easily seen by their Way of writing, how insensible they are of those pure and pious Affections of the Mind, which are the Characteristicks of a good Christian. I cannot think, but that the most of them had never any Thing in View besides the Income and the Eminence; and if only painful and powerful Preachers were to have Institution and Induction, we should not so often hear the Bells toll. Dr. Owen, who had so worthily fill'd the Vice-Chancellor's Chair at Oxford, in his Epitaph upon Bagshaw, has these Words, Mr. Edward Bagshaw, Minister of the Gospel, who receiv'd from God Faith to embrace it, Courage to defend it, and Patience to suffer for it, esteeming the Advantage o*

Birth, Education, and Learning, as Things of Worth, to be accounted Loss for the Knowledge of Christ, &c. Unless the Historian had had more Advantages of Birth, Education, and Learning, was it decent in him to insult Mr. *Bagshaw* as he does? yet, he will be one of the first to cry out, that he is not us'd as a Divine, an Archdeacon, and an Historian ought to be. Right, but then
 1672. we will learn the Rule by his Example, and not by his Precept.

His Account of the shutting up of the Exchequer is taken from the *Secret History*, which, with equal Reason and Gratitude, he has done what he cou'd to vilify. He tells us, some did not fear to say, the Crown had *publish'd itself a Bankrupt*. What shou'd they be afraid of! This is one of his *Kennels* and *Common-Shores*, which must by no means be stirr'd. If he had lost 1000 l. by it, as Mr. *Baxter* did, we shou'd have had enough of the *Stench* of it in our Nostrils. The King very kindly promis'd to pay the Bankers Principal and Interest, but they never had a Teaster from him; and he owns, that, at last, amidst the ten thousand *Felicities* of these blessed Times, the Government was greatly *dishonour'd*, and the *Ministry disgrac'd*; we are not at all oblig'd to him for this Confession, having met with nothing but Disgrace and Dishonour, for a dozen Years past.

He assures us, the *French* King put King *Charles* upon that unjustifiable Enterprize, to seize the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, before the Declaration of War; and then follows the *clearest Account*, that ever was given, of King *Charles's* Declaration of Indulgence to Protestant Dissenters; which he takes from the *French* Jesuit, who was told so by King *James II.* himself. But it happens,

pens, that I have before me a *clearer* Account than his *Clearest*, written by Mr. Locke, *Des Maiz.* Col. p. 67. & *seq.* That Gentleman had it from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who knew more of the Matter, even than King *James*; and is suppos'd to be the *Penman* of the Declaration. Thus, Sir, says Mr. Locke, *You have, perhaps, a better Account of the Declaration, than you can receive from any other Hand, and I cou'd have wish'd the Indulgence a longer Continuance, and better Reception than it had; for the Bishops took so great Offence at it, that they gave the Alarm of Popery thro' the whole Nation; and by their Emissaries, the Clergy (who, by the Contexture and Subordination of their Government, have the Advantage of a quick dispensing their Orders, and a sudden and universal Insinuation of whatever they please) rais'd such a Cry, that those good and sober Men, who had really fear'd the Increase and Countenance Popery had hitherto receiv'd, began to believe the Bishops were in earnest, their Eyes open'd, tho' late; and therefore join'd in heartily with them. The Lord Shaftsbury, explaining the Advantages of this Declaration to Mr. Locke, has these Expressions; As to the Church, I conceive the Declaration is extremely for their Interest; for the narrow Bottom they have placed themselves upon, and the Measures they have proceeded by, so contrary to the Properties and Liberties of the Nation, must needs in a short Time prove fatal to them; whereas, this leads them into another Way to live peaceably with the dissenting and differing Protestants, both at home and abroad. Such Politicks as these never enter'd into the Heads of Laud, and his Disciples Sheldon, Morley, &c. Did they, or does Mr. Echard believe, that their Severities to Nonconformists plac'd them on a narrow Bottom, or that their Measures*

were against the Properties and Liberties of the Nation! Let the Reader determine, who are the best Judges of this Affair; the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and Mr. *Locke*, who say they were against them; or Archbishop *Sheldon* and Archdeacon *Echard*, who say they were not! The Earl of *Shaftsbury* continues, *Thus wou'd they, by necessary and unavoidable Consequences, become the Head of them all; for that Place, says his Lordship very rightly, is due to the Church of England, being in favour, and of nearest Approach to the most powerful Prince of that Religion; and so always have it in their Hands, to be Intercessors and Procurers of the greatest Good and Protection that Party throughout all Christendom can receive. And thus the Archbishop of Canterbury might become, not only Alterius Orbis, but Alterius Regionis Papa; and all this Addition of Honour and Power attain'd, without the least Loss or Diminution of the Church, it not being intended, observe what follows, Mr. Archdeacon, that one Living, Dignity, or Preferment, should be given, but to those that were strictly conformable.* The Earl knew very well where the Shoe pinch'd, and therefore provided against it. How wise, how just, how safe, are these Reflections of a Lay Lord? How wild, how rash, how dangerous, are the Politicks of a *Laudean* Ministry? Wou'd to God, it cou'd be said in the best Sense, as it may be in the worst, *that their Wisdom is not of this World.*

Mr. *Echard* assures us, that, after this Indulgence, the *Non-cons* had the free Exercise of their *Worship and Religion*, except some private Hardships in a few Nooks of the Kingdom, till the Year 1681, when they gave new Provocation; which are both true alike! 'Twas provoking enough, indeed, to see such Swarms of proud, idle, vain, ignorant,

norant, and malicious Priests, for others hated the Work, lording it over pious, conscientious Ministers, and rifling and imprisoning their sober, religious Neighbours; herding with lewd Informers and Protectors; and rioting with drunken Justices; while their Protestant Brethren were haling away to common Jails of the several Counties of *England*.

Tho' the Writer of these Remarks is as Orthodox as the Archdeacon, and as sound a Member of the *National Church* as himself, as far as is consistent with Christian Union and Charity; yet, he cannot, without a Kind of Indignation, remember such Severities as he saw, and felt in the Persons and Fortunes of his dearest Relations.

It must be own'd, that, in this City of *London*, the Aldermen were generally Men of Understanding and Worth. They liv'd in the World, and knew the best Way of doing it. The *London* Clergy too were then, as now, the most learned, religious, and moderate, the *Pelling's* excepted, &c. They were Examples as well to *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, as the rest of the Kingdom: And though some of the most illiterate and worthless encourag'd *Informers*, yet, the principal Ministers, such as Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, &c. held private Correspondence with Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, and other nonconforming Divines, to heal the Breaches, and restore Unity among Protestants.

In the Country, Persecution triumph'd; the most stupid of the Fox-hunters had a Curse, at Command, for *Fanaticks*; and scarce a Parson of an obscure Parish but what was ready to join with them, and crown their Confusion with a *Bumper* first, and a Constable afterwards. Thus were they
in

in the Hands of the most senseless and pitiless Sort of Animals, the like to which were not to be met with in *London* and *Westminster*, tho' even there, both *Newgate* and the *Gate-house* were sometimes fill'd with *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, instead of *Higway-men* and *House-breakers*. About this Time, twelve or thirteen Bishops din'd with Sir *Nathaniel Hern*, Sheriff of *London*; and discoursing with him, about putting the Laws in Execution against the *Dissenters*, that worthy Knight told them plainly, *We can't trade with our Neighbours one Day, and send them to Jail the next*. But what signify'd Trade and Riches, Peace and good Neighbourhood, in comparison with the triumphant State of Persecution, and the growing Power of Priesthood. However, there were some Justices in *London* itself, who were very forward to give entire Satisfaction, as to their Conduct towards *Dissenters*. I have already nam'd several of them, particularly Sir *Joseph Sheldon*, who, for his following the Instructions of his Cousin, the Archbishop, in that pious Employment, deserves to be nam'd again. *Many Ministers were clapp'd up in Jail*, says Dr. *Calamy*, and a Guard of Constables and Officers was posted at Mr. *Baxter's Meeting-house*, to prevent any one's coming there a Sunday. This Mr. *Echard* calls the *free Exercise of Religion and Worship*; and whoever will turn over *Calamy's* two Volumes, so often quoted by me, will find a Hundred more such Instances of that Freedom. But, lest Dr. *Calamy's* Testimony may be excepted against, I will produce another; an Author, who was a Pensioner to that good Church-man *Harley*, a Champion for *Sacheverel's* Ministry, and the Peace of *Utrecht*, which were both so glorious for the Nation, and had like to have made us as happy as we were in the Reign of

of King Charles II. had it not been for our fatal Return to Liberty and Security under the present Government. If that Author had been good for any Thing, he would not have been pension'd as he was ; but I make use of him as one engag'd in the same Cause with our Historian, or one very near a-kin to it, *I am sorry to say that near 8000 Protestant Dissenters perish'd in Prison, in the Days of that merciful Prince King Charles II. and that meerly for dissenting from the Church, in Points which they had good Reasons for, &c.*

As to the *Provocation* given by *Dissenters*, to encrease their Sufferings, there were none, not one justifiable Cause of Oppression, if the Folly and Rashness of two or three insignificant Persons is not a just Ground to vex, trouble, and ruin several Hundreds of 'Thousands.

I often wonder how a Man of so solid and scrupulous a Judgment, as Mr. Echard, could follow *Hearsay* and *Secret History*, so much as he does; particularly, in the revoking this *Déclaration* of Indulgence, he assures us it was *believ'd that the Ladies engag'd in this Affair, and prevail'd with his Majesty to revoke the Indulgence to Protestant Dissenters*. Whom does he mean by these Ladies, the *Catholick Duchesse of Cleveland*, the *Incanting Duchesse of Portsmouth*, Mrs. Mary Davies, or Mrs. Elinor Gwyn ? These were all excellent Counsellors in *Religious* Matters ; and though I cannot sacrifice the Truth, so much as it is done in the History of these Times ; yet, I durst not have said that the good Bishops were oblig'd to those good Ladies for the Service done to the Church, in reviving the Persecution. Mr. Locke heard nothing, of the Intrigues of their Lordships, from the Lord Shaftsbury : He only was told, *That the Bishops took great Offence, at the granting Liberty of Conscience*

Baxter's
Life, Vol.
I. p. 311.

science to any Protestant whatsoever that would not hear Common-Prayer, and attain'd their Ends by getting the *Declaration* cancell'd. We have been told by him, that, notwithstanding this cancelling, the *Nonconformists* had their Meeting-houses, almost as publickly and regularly, as the other had their Churches; as in the Case of Mr. *Baxter* before-mention'd. And Dr. *Calamy* informs us, p. 347. *The King importunately commanded and urg'd the Judges to prosecute Dissenters; and the Clergy importunately exhorted the Prosecutors to proceed without Wavering or Weariness. One of them, in his Sermon, set himself to persuade his Congregation that the Fanaticks were obstinate, and not to be tolerated, nor cur'd by any Means but Vengeance, urging them to set Fire to the Faggot, and teach them by Scourges and Scorpions, and open their Eyes with Gall. Here you have the Pelling's, the Hollingsworth's, the Thompson's, the Hill's, the Lesley's, the Sacheverel's, the T——p's. Here, in a Word, you have the Marrow of these Mens Divinity. If this had been a primitive Gospel Spirit, what must have become of Christianity, long enough before it was corrupted by Popery!*

I cannot have an easier Task impos'd upon me, than to prove that the *French Jesuit's Book* is full of the most scandalous Falshoods. The Archdeacon is, however, extremely fond of it, and believes the *Frenchman* had every Word of it from King *James II.* Our Protestant Historian, when he repeats what the *Popish* one says, does it with high Recommendations of the Authority of his Information; and here he affirms, as the Jesuit directed him, *That the Earl of Shaftsbury advis'd the King to grant the Declaration of Indulgence, which is true; and it is also as true, that the Lord Clif-*

ford did first propose it, and that the Lord *Shaftsbury* only fell in with it, which neither the *French* nor the *English* Historian takes any Notice of; but tell us the very contrary. *Shaftsbury*, say they, communicated it to his Collegue. Mr. *Locke* says, The Lord *Clifford* prepar'd the Declaration of Indulgence, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* presently closed with it. But Mr. *Echard* prefers the Jesuit's History, taken from King *James's* most clear Information, p. 880. to that of the Common Writers, Mr. *Locke*, Mr. *Marvel*, &c. which fully explains his exalted Opinion of his own Genius and Merit, superior to Mr. *Marvel's*, Mr. *Locke's*, or any Body's else. There had been no great Harm in it, if they had given the Lord *Clifford* the Glory of the Declaration, as was his Due; but being a *Papist*, and the Project miscarrying by the Interposition of Mrs. *Elinor Gwyn*, Mrs. *Mary Davies*, and other *Inchanting Ladies*; they have eas'd him, and loaded the Lord *Shaftsbury* with it, on account of his being a *Commonwealth's-Man*, and a *Presbyterian*.

All the while that these Troubles and Vexations were carrying on in the three Kingdoms by the inferior Clergy, and their Emissaries, under the Wings of the Bishops, Mr. *Echard* assures us, the People were in a Time of *Breathing* and *Rest*; as also that the Lord-Mayor gave the Heralds a Dinner, for proclaiming the second War with the *Dutch*. Many such important Particularities are there in his *General History*. As absurd as this War was, and the Declaration which preceded it, he gives it to you entire, as a precious Treasure, to distinguish his Chronicle from all others; and then reflects upon it thus, *It must be own'd the Dutch were too inflexible about the Flag*, though he had himself said just before, *The Dutch deny'd*
that

that they ever refus'd the Flag, and offer'd to make any reasonable Satisfaction.

With what Pleasure does he run before the *French King's* triumphal Chariot, when he is safely taking the Towns he had bought. *Holland*, 'tis true, is one of the Outworks of *England*, as I prov'd in a Treatise, when Bishop *Robinson* and *Mons. Mesnager* were at *Utrecht*; Entitul'd, *The Dutch Barrier Ours*; and it is so evident, that 'tis hardly worth proving: But that's no Matter with the reverend Historian. Are not the *Dutch Presbyterians*? Why then should he care what became of them? King *Charles* and King *James* were in a secret League for their Destruction, to which the ruling Ecclesiasticks contributed, as much as they could do, by their Lectures against *Liberty* and *Schism*. This *Secret League* with *France* is said to be concluded at *Dover*. Mr. *Echard* will not allow there was any such Treaty against the Protestant Religion, though *Coleman's* Letters do so plainly shew it; and that King *James*, then Duke of *York*, was the main Promoter of it; for those Letters, though written after the League, are in consequence of it; and I shall produce Evidence which has not lain in his Way, and cannot but surprize him. 'Tis taken out of a Book written by a *Frenchman* and a *Papist*, call'd, *Annales De la Cour & de Paris*, wherein the Author writes of King *James*, *Mais ce Prince s'étant montre ferme dans l'Alliance secrète, qu'il avoit contractée avec le Roy; but that Prince shew'd himself firm to the Secret Alliance he had concluded with the King*, which could not be for any other Purpose than the Extirpation of the Northern Heresy, the Religion of *England*, *Holland*, &c.

The Archdeacon owns *De Wit* cannot well be acquitted, as to his secret Correspondence with
France.

France. And how did he come by that Discovery, which never was fully explain'd by any *English* Author, till the first Volume of the *Secret History* was publish'd; which he has so much us'd, and so much abus'd, as far as it was in him to do it.

When he speaks of the Death of Mr. Nye and Mr. Caryl, he is not satisfy'd to call quiet Mr. Caryl an *Incendiary*; but to that adds Infamy and Villany in the Character of the *Trumpeter* Nye. Here's *Manners*, here *Decorum*, here the pure *Silver Stream*, instead of *Kennels* and *Common-Shores*.

*For none have been with Admiration read,
But, who beside their Learning, were well-bred.*

Mr. Caryl was so very much his superior in every Respect, that I will not lessen him by Comparison. And as to the *Villain Nye*, I use only his own fine Phrase: He had some Qualities which might have screen'd him a little from the Historian's Rage. He was a Gentleman's Son, and had had Academical Education; which are two Things which the Archdeacon knows do not always go together. He was a Man of Metal, and would not be trick'd or impos'd upon by any with whom he had a Controversy; and, since he could not be made a Fool, he makes a Knave of him. Dr. Calamy tells us, he was a Man of *uncommon Depth*, and *seldom outreach'd*; yet, after he is dead, Mr. Echard out-reaches him. Thus, the same Advantage being taken of *Cromwell*, he was hang'd. The Archdeacon says very rightly, *A Painful Preacher, with an Antichristian Spirit*, makes but a wretched Character. *What* then does a cold formal Preacher, with a persecuting Spirit, make!

I am

1673.

I am very glad he has got a Place for Sir Edward Turner, that we may hear no more of his Speeches. The King's has something in it extraordinary, *I will stick to my Declaration of Indulgence*; as much as to say, *I will inviolably maintain the Toleration*, till they bring me a *Schism*, or an *Occasional Bill*. 'Tis a little unlucky, that such Things, as these, are hardly ever said, but, soon after, the *inviolable Toleration* is most strongly violated.

Mr. Echard knows my Lord Shaftsbury; a great deal better than Mr. Locke, who liv'd with him; which I do not so much impute to the Inequality of the Opportunities, as the Inequality of the Understandings. Mr. Echard, by Superiority of Genius, has set us right in Matters relating to that great Statesman, wherein Mr. Locke misled us. The latter represents his Lordship as acting always on a publick Principle; and that he left not Court, till he found no Good was to be done there. *He was a Man of great Abilities and Knowledge in Affairs, and, One that, in all this Variety of Changes, was never known to be either bought, or frighted out of his publick Principles.* Quite contrary to this, the Archdeacon assures us, he left the Courtiers, purely out of Fear of Impeachment by the Country Party. Mr. Echard had Mr. Locke's Letter before him, when he wrote thus.

We have observ'd, how solemn the Promise was to *stick to the Toleration*: And not long after the King recall'd it, and, with his own Hand, broke the *Great Seal* annex'd to the *Declaration*. I do not tell this, as a Rarity in the Chronicles of these happy Times; but to shew, why it was that my Lord Shaftsbury left the Court. The Indulgence was that Part of his Politicks, on which he built most;

most ; and, it being thrown down so rashly and suddenly, he knew 'twas impossible to keep the Fa-
brick together. When the Declaration came first
out, Mr. *Locke* informs us, “ Good and sober
“ Men, who had really long fear'd the Encrease
“ and Countenance Popery had hitherto receiv'd,
“ began to believe the Bishops were in earnest,
“ and therefore join'd heartily in with them : So
“ that, at the next Meeting of Parliament, *the Pro-*
“ *testant Interest* was run so high, as an Act came
“ up from the House of Commons to the House
“ of Lords, in Favour of the *dissenting Prote-*
“ *stants*, and had pass'd the Lords, but for Want
“ of Time.” I do not, after this, expect that
the Parliament will have a good Word from the
the Historian. He wasted himself in Panegyricks
upon them, when they pass'd Bill after Bill against
those *Dissenters*. What then can he say now for
them ? Mr. *Locke* again, “ The worthiest and so-
“ berest of the *Episcopal* Party thought it neces-
“ sary to unite with the *dissenting* Protestants,
“ and not to divide their Party, when all their For-
“ ces were little enough.” Who were the most
sober, the most worthy Church-men ? Not those
that had solicited and procured Acts to dis-unite
Protestants, which the Archdeacon has often told
us were extremely necessary, but those that were
for procuring an Act to unite them. And now
this very Parliament, who had been ten Years pas-
sing Acts, to make the *Nonconformists* uneasy,
thought it fit, for the Publick Interest, to pass
another to ease them. Mr. *Echard* himself con-
fesses, that all his persecuting Bills were so far from
being useful, that they were destructive to Reli-
gion. If *that Act*, in Favour of Dissenters, *had*
pass'd, it might have prov'd a new Bulwark against
Popery. Thus he, at once, condemns all that his

adorable Bishops had been doing against their Protestant Brethren, ever since the *Restoration*; and acknowledges, that by silencing and ruining so many good *Protestants* and good *Englishmen*, they had broke down one of the Bulwarks of the *Reform'd Religion*. In this one Saying, he has unsaid all the Eulogy he bestows on the House of Commons, and their Speaker, *Turner*.

The Duke of *York*, ever since he came Home with his Brother, had not done one popular Act, but in once beating the *Dutch Presbyterians*; and he now did the most unpopular one that he well could do, by marrying a poor *Italian Princess*, in Defiance of the Sense of the Nation, express'd in several Addresses to the King.

Now also it was, says the Archdeacon, *That the King began to feel the Loss of his old Counsellor, the Earl of Clarendon*; who had so constantly counsell'd him to pass those Bills which destroy'd the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion, by ruining the Protestant *Dissenters*. What Agreement there is in *these Mens Opinions*, what Coherence in their Words and Deeds? Though I hate and despise *After-Wit*; yet I am tempted to conjecture, I.F. the *Chancellor* had not countenanc'd, as he did, the unwearied Labours of the rigid Clergy, to get so many Acts, tending all to the weakening of the *Protestant Interest*, and consequently to the endangering of the Constitution both in Church and State, such a Counsellor would have been very much wanted; for the Lord *Clarendon*, in the latter Part of his Life, saw the Errors of his Administration, and endeavour'd to give a Check to the Growth of *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery*. But, all the while he was doing what he repented of, the Archdeacon does not name him without an Encomium; and even now does not praise him, for

for what he would probably have done for the Liberties of the Subject *Ecclesiastical and Civil*, but for what he had done against both in the *Stings* of several Statutes.

Whoever has the Curiosity to know where, and by whom, the Duke of York and his Wife were marry'd, may find it in Mr. *Echard's* History, p. 898. though we shall have too much Reason to remember the Marriage, as long as we have the Plague of a Pretender, who claims the *Hereditaries* and *Indefeasibles* by it.

In his Biography of this Year, the Historiographer presents you with a Repetition of *Oliver St. John's* Character: *He had a deep and a dreadful Hand*: He was *Cromwell's* dark Lanthorn, and he was a Man of a *devilish* Temper; and 'twas a Miracle he was not hang'd, when there was so much Work of that Kind before, and after the *Uniformity Act*.

I believe the Speeches to the Parliament will be as *eloquent* as they are *long*, for that *Shaftsbury* is *turn'd out*, and we have a new Lord Chancellor. But I fancy the Pensions are very ill paid, and the Parliament has had the best Words they are like to have from the Historian; for the Lords and Commons address'd the King for a *Fast*, on account of the calamitous Condition of the Nation, by *intestine Divisions* and *Differences* amongst us, occasion'd by the undermining Contrivances of the *Papists*. This Fast is an old *Puritan* Business, as bad with *these Men* as a *Day of Humiliation*, the Phrase under the *Rump*. 'Tis suppos'd, by as ingenious Persons as our *Historian*, but I don't tell who, out of Spite to him; because he often tells us, 'tis thought by some *Wise Men*, 'tis said by some *Great Men*, &c. and never lets us know who they are, that all his favourite Bills

were

were hatch'd in *Popish* Cabinets, though publish'd in *Protestant* Statute Books.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* was much in Favour with him, when he was preaching up Apostolical Succession in *Scotland*, though he kept a *Presbyterian* Chaplain in his House. He now prints the Address against him, for keeping Company with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who were not two *Papists*, and the Lord *Arlington* and the Lord *Clifford* who were. Mr. *Locke* mentions some other Company kept by him, *That old Covenanter Lauderdale*, says he, *is become the Patron of the Church*, and has his Coach and Table fill'd with *Bishops*. I know also of some other Company of his; but I forbear, out of Respect to their Sex and their Quality. Besides, it is the proper Subject of *Secret History*, of which he will allow me to be a proper Judge.

The Lower House of Parliament grew better every Session; and, before they were dissolv'd, became a Parliament entirely *English*, so jealous of the King's Intention and Power, that they declar'd against keeping up the *Life-Guard*, who were not so rich as King *Charles* Ist's. who, Mr. *Echard* told us, could buy the House of Commons. In their Reasons for it, is one which he took no Notice of, when he told us of the bloody Assault, by which Sir *John Coventry* was so wounded and mangled. He would not let us know it was done by the *Papists* and the King's *Life-Guard* Men, for the *Papists* were, at that Time, some of his Party's best Friends; but now we have it out. The Parliament say, even in this Flow of *Felicities*, *That the Life-Guard is a Place of Refuge and Retreat for Papists, and Men Popishly affected*. What follows is a Picture to the Life of the *Addressees, Abhorrrers, Decreers, and Persecutors* of

of those *felicitous Times*: *A School and Nursery for Men of debauch'd and arbitrary Principles, and Favourers of the French Government, as did too plainly appear in the Case of Sir John Coventry.*

It will, doubtless, be allow'd by every one, that has the least Knowledge of the Times Mr. *Echard* writes of, that King *Charles* contended with all the Power of *France*, as well as all the Power of *Holland*, in the first *Dutch War*, and had the Power of *France* with him in the second; whereas he speaks the whole Truth himself, *That the French King* treated his Alliance as a Thing of no Significance; and the Truth is, foreign Princes did all along treat Alliances with *England* after the same Rate, from the Year 1602. to the Year 1688. except when the *Rump*, or *Cromwell*, frighted them into other Politicks.

The Lower House of Parliament being in a Manner purg'd of *Pensioners*, King *Charles* found himself under a Necessity of taking a Pension in his Turn; and, as Mr. *Echard* tells us, though we knew it before, took a large one from his Cousin *Lewis XIV.* finding the Parliament were grown close-fisted; and taking Offence at their Proceedings, *though they had been so long endear'd to him by so many continual Supplies, and so many agreeable Acts*: Such as the *Corporation Act*, *Five Mile Act*, *Conventicle Act*, &c. which have still a sweet-smelling Savour in his Remembrance. How perfectly well did Mr. *Locke* know these Men, who could never say enough of the Agreeableness of those Statutes:

Ech. p.
908.

“ A Sort of Men who never forgive any Man
 “ the having once been in the Right; and such
 “ Men, who would do the worst of Things by
 “ the worst of Means, enslave their Country, and
 “ betray

Dez Maiz, "betray them under the Masque of Religion,
 Coll. p. 77. "which they have the publick Pay, for and the
 "Charge of *so seething the Kid in the Mother's*
 "Milk, our Statesmen and Bishops being now as
 "well agreed as in old *Laud's* Time, on the same
 "Principles, with the same Passion, to attain
 "their End. *Pray observe how different this*
 "Character of old *Laud* is from *Mr. Echard's*,
 "who hardly thinks Martyr and Saint good enough
 "for him. They, in the first Place, gave Orders
 "to the Judges, in all their Circuits, to quicken
 "the Execution of the Laws against *Dissenters*.
 "A new Declaration is publish'd, directly con-
 "trary to the former, most in Words against the
 "Papists; but in the Sense, and in the Close,
 "did fully serve against both; and, in the Exe-
 "cution, it was plain who was meant. A Com-
 "mission besides comes down, directed to the prin-
 "cipal Gentlemen of each County, to seize the
 "Estates of both *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, men-
 "tion'd in a List annex'd, wherein, by great
 "Misfortune, or Skill, the Names of *Papists* of
 "best Quality and Fortune, and so best known,
 "were mistaken, and the Commission render'd in-
 "effectual, as to them."

I cannot but rejoice in the Advantage the Cause of Liberty has acquired, by having so illustrious a Defender as *Mr. Locke*; in whose Writings the Principles and Practices of its Enemies are discovered and expos'd: For, whatever becomes of the History of the *Grand Rebellion*, of *Mr. Echard's* Works and mine, it is most sure, that *Mr. Locke's* will be as long liv'd as Time; and every the smallest Parcel of them be a Treasure, which Posterity will think invaluable, when Canons and Decrees, when Statutes and Proclamations, when Libels and Histories shall be ob-
 solete

solete and forgotten. Mr. *Locke's* Works will keep Knowledge alive in the World ; and the last Ages will have a lively Representation of those Men, *who would have enslav'd and betray'd their Country under the Masque of Religion.* A very comfortable Reflection for the Historian and his Brethren !

I shall follow him no farther than the Session of Parliament in the Year 1675. He has so shamefully misrepresented the Debate about the Test, as to extort a Complaint from Monsieur *des Maizeaux*, a Gentleman of so much Modesty and Merit, that I verily believe it gave him much more Pains to have Cause to complain, than it did the Historian to be complained of. *Monf. Des Maizeaux* not only reprehends him in that Place of his Collections, mentioned in the first Volume, but also in his Preface : *There is but one of them, the Notes, that can be look'd upon as Critical ; and even that is only intended to settle a Matter of Fact* misrepresented by a late Historian, Mr. *Echard*, who positively denies that he has one Misrepresentation in all his Book. Besides this, the Archdeacon omits a great Part of the Debate itself, especially that about the Church, the Government of which the Oath obliged every one not to alter ; which Oath, says my Lord *Shaftsbury*, *must be utterly unlawful, unless you place an Infallibility either in the Church or yourself, you being otherwise obliged to alter, whenever a clearer or better Light comes to you.* I omit the Objections his Lordship made to some of the XXXIX Articles. As to the Liturgy, he said what I have already quoted from him. The Bishop of *Winchester*, almost fourscore Years old, affirm'd in this Debate, several Times, *that there was no Christian Church before Calvin, that had*
not

not Bishops: So also had Bishop Land declared; to which he was answered, *that the Albigenes, a very numerous People, and the only visible known Church of true Believers of some Ages, had no Bishops.* Mr. Locke, in the Close of his Letter, about this Test, for the *Establishment of Arbitrary Power*, and the further *Establishment of the Establish'd Church*, writes thus,

“ You have the Riddle out, why the Clergy
 “ are so ready to take themselves, and to impose
 “ upon others, such Kind of Oaths: They have
 “ placed themselves and their Possessions upon a
 “ better and a surer Bottom, as they think, than
 “ *Magna Charta*; and so have no more Need
 “ or Concern for it. Nay, what is worse, they
 “ have trucked away the Rights and Liberties
 “ of the People in this and all other Countries,
 “ wherever they had Opportunity, that they
 “ might be owned by the Prince to be *Jure Di-*
 “ *vino*, and maintain'd in that Pretension by that
 “ absolute Power and Force they have contribu-
 “ ted so much to put into his Hands; and that
 “ Priest and Prince may, like *Castor and Pollux*,
 “ be worshipped together, as divine, in the same
 “ Temple, by us poor *Lay* Subjects; and that
 “ Sense and Reason, Law, Properties, Rights
 “ and Liberties, shall be understood as the Oracle
 “ of those *Deities* shall interrupt or give Signifi-
 “ cation to them; and never be made use of in
 “ the World, to oppose the absolute and free Will
 “ of either of them.

There had been a Motion in the House of Peers for a Bill, to prevent our Princes marrying Papists; it was reviv'd in this Session of Parliament, and Mr. Locke informs us how it miscarry'd. I do not at all wonder that our *impartial* Historian conceals this Event, which makes so little for the Credit
 of

of the Bishops, then governing our Church, whom he speaks as well of, as History will speak of her present *Fathers*. With him they are all learned, pious, charitable; all inspir'd with a primitive, apostolical Spirit; and hardly one of them escapes his *Panegyricks*. Mr. *Locke*, on the contrary, writes thus; and, by the Way, what Confusion must a modest Man be in to find his Writings contrary to Mr. *Locke's*! “ In this Session the Bishops wholly laid aside their Zeal against *Pope-ry*. The Committee of the whole House for Religion, which the Country Lords, *not the Bishops*, had caus'd to be set up again by the Example of the former Session, could hardly get, at any Time, a Day appointed for their Sitting; and the main Thing design'd for a Bill, voted in the former Session, *The marrying our Princes to none but Protestants*, was reject- ed and carried in the *Negative*, by the unani- mous *Votes of the Bishops Bench*; for I must acquaint you that our *Great Prelates* were so near an *Infallibility*, that they were always found, in this Session, of one Mind in the Lord's House; yet, the *Lay Lords*, not understanding from how excellent a Principle this proceeded, com- monly call'd them, for that Reason, the D E A D W E I G H T.” Is there a Word of all this in the Archdeacon's History, which, he confesses, has nothing to recommend it but *Impartiality* and *In- tegrity*. Neither would he tell us how the before- mention'd Test, for establishing an absolute, ar- bitrary Government, and destroying, with a Breath, all the antient Rights and Liberties of the good People of *England*, came to be brought into the House of Peers; and by whom it was promoted there. The Reason is, the Majority which made the *Laws of the Land*, as he calls them, forop-
F f pressing

pressing our Protestant Brethren, consisted of the same Persons. "The Officers, Court Lords, and Bishops, says Mr. *Locke*, were clearly the major Vote in the Lords House; and they assur'd themselves to have the Commons as much at their Devotion, when they reckon'd up the Number of the Courtiers, Officers, and Pensioners." Contrary again to Mr. *Locke*, we are told by the Archdeacon, that there is no Reason to believe that any Pensions were paid, since the Duke of *Leeds*, who paid them, denies it. But the great Author of the *Essay on Human Understanding* informs us, *The French King's Ministers, who are the greatest Chapmen in the World, could not outdo ours.*

When we have the Sense of so wonderful a Man as Mr. *Locke*, how must it confirm one in the Belief of a Thing. Gentlemen who have good Learning, good Understanding and Experience, will not prevaricate in Matters of such Importance. But little Regard is to be had to People of a Profession, when they are labouring to advance its Profit or Credit. Self is the wrongest Bias in Nature, with respect to others; 'twill always make us lean the same Way, and on this Account it is, that History has been so corrupted.

I might have swell'd this Work to a yet much greater Bulk, by excepting against every Thing exceptionable in the Archdeacon's Books; but I am satisfy'd here will be found sufficient to convince every impartial Reader, that those precious Rights and Liberties, mention'd by Mr. *Locke*, would have been in a fair Way of being forgotten by Posterity, if we had had no other Histories than that of our Historian, that of the *Grand Rebellion*,

tion, those of *Nalson*, *Dugdale*, *Heylin*, *L'Estrange*, and the rest of them. *Turner's* Speeches about *Schism* and *Fanaticism*, after this Assertion of Mr. *Chillingworth*! whose Book was recommended by Dr. *Prideaux*, Bishop of *Worcester*; Dr. *Fell*, Dean of *Christ-Church*, and Dr. *Baylie*, Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*. How has he turn'd the Tables, and made those the *Schismatics* who caus'd the Separation, and not those that separated! What Doctrine would this be in a *Visitation* Pulpit, where the reverend Auditory are in a full Conviction, that there is not a Man among them but is as Orthodox as St. *Athanasius* was; nor a Man that separates from them, but is as great a *Schismatick* as *George Fox*, or *John Bunyan*. I have more than once reminded the Reader, That 'twas for the Sake of such Reflections that I undertook this Work, and that, therefore, I claim the Privilege of Digression, especially since an exact chronological Order and Thread of Discourse are not necessary in a *Critical History*; where Facts are not intended to be treated of regularly, but Remarks are to be made upon those that have err'd in relating them,

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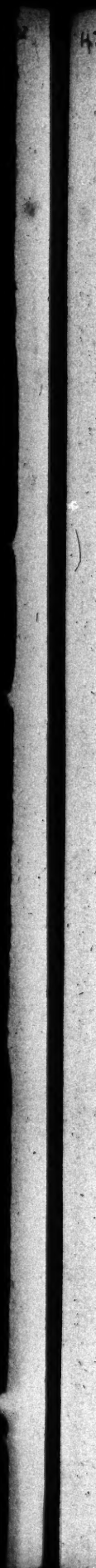
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INDEX.

A.



- CT of Parliament*, a mannerly one, *Page* 311.
Obsolete as soon as it was pass'd. *ib.*
Address of the Anabaptists and Quakers to King Charles II. in Exile, 252. mention'd by the Lord *Clarendon* and *Archdeacon Echard*. *ib.*
Addreses to Richard Cromwell, 257. to King *Charles II.* 258.
 Some valuable ones, *ib.* Full of *Flowers of Rhetorick*. 259
Adultery brought in, by putting down the High-Commission Court. 22
Allen (Dr.) his Moderation. 346
Alva (Duke of) drives the *Flemish* Protestants to *England*. 28
Amboyna, the *Dutch* Cruelties there finely described by Mr. *Echard*. 65
Anglesea (Earl of) against making any Terms with the King, 294. a *Presbyterian*, 308. his Attestation that King *Charles* did not write *Eikon Basilike*. 190
Arbitrary Power began by King *James I.* 54. *Preachings* to advance it, 61. First solemnly declared in the Pulpit, 62.
 Asserted by Bishop *Montague*, 73. Mr. *Waller's* Speech against those *Preachings*, 128. Preach'd up as soon as the King was restored, 191. Made *Jure Divino*. 336
Archy, the King's Fool, turn'd off to please Bishop *Laud*. 84
Arians, how old. *Introd.* p. 15
Articles, thirty-nine, compleated the Reformation, 23. Subscription to them limited, 25. Mr. *Chillingworth's* Objection to them. 27

INDEX.

- Astley Couper* (Sir *Anthony*) prevents *Monk's* setting up for himself, 286. A Presbyterian. 308
Assembly of Divines, Mr. *Echard's* noble Character of them. 150
Athanasian Creed, objected against by *Chillingworth*, 27. who bestir themselves in rehearsing it. ib.

B.

- B** *Ancrest* (Bishop) in Arms against the Earl of *Essex* and the Presbyterians, 41. Verses upon him out of *Ofborn*, 48. His great Persecution, 46. Jealous of the Clergy's Revenues, 48. Zealous for Uniformity, ib. More Verses upon him. ib.
Bandbox and Screw-Plots against Mr. *Harley* out-done. 299
Bartholomew-Day Black, 307. What they did to two or three thousand Ministers upon that Day, 317, 346, 349. Commended by Mr. *Echard*, 350. Great Divines turn'd out by it. 352
Bates (Dr.) his great Merit. 349
Baxter (Mr.) misrepresented by Mr. *Echard*, 319. Bishop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Barrow* against him in it, 319, 320. and *A. Wood*. 320
Bellasis (Mr.) Son to the Lord *Falconbridge*, imprisoned for not pulling off his Hat to the Earl of *Strafford*. 83
Bible presented to King *Charles II.* 300
Bilson (Bishop) his Zeal against Ceremonies. 7
Bishops, several excellent ones, Promoters of Union, 149, & seq. *Introd.* 13
Bishops not to be employed in Temporal Offices. 288
Bishops, some deny that they hold their Power of the King. 107
Bishops put down by King *Charles I.* 124. Spoke against by Lord *Digby*, 129. and Lord *Falkland*. 130
Bishops, certain, remembred. 335, 336
Bishops, present, our great Happiness in them. 204, 311, 335
Blazing Star, attracted by a Dropsy, 59. That in 1680 prognosticated Mr. *Echard's* History. 160
Bohemia, King and Queen of, how treated by King *James I.* 61
Bourdeaux, Monsieur, the French Ambassador, for making *Monk* King, 287. His mean Opinion of him. 289
Bowles, Mr. a Presbyterian Minister, zealous for the Restoration, 280. Stripped of all after it. 281
Burleigh, Lord, his Letter to Archbishop *Whitgift*, to dissuade him from persecuting Protestants. 36, 37
Burnet, Bishop, his Behaviour at *Rome*. 272

C.

I N D E X.

C.

- C**alvin abused, and by whom, 50. By *Laud* and other Bishops. 108
- Cambden*, his Partiality and Ingratitude out of *Osborn*, 39. Affects Popish Terms. 48
- Canons*, excellent ones, 61. More excellent ones, 115.
- Condemned by the Parliament, 117. and by the Lord *Clarendon*. 136
- Cartwright*, Mr. why he turned Presbyterian. 23, 29
- Castlemain*, Earl, his Saying against persecuting Dissenters. 10
- Catholick Church, what it is, 12, 47, 48. *Laud's* Description of it. 114
- Cavalier Army*, Men of Piety, 152. The French thought they could massacre. 299
- Cavalier Gentlemen*, petition against *Laud*, 88. Men of Piety, 170, 171. Use King *Charles I.* ill. 204
- Cecil*, Sir Robert, his Merit. 42
- Ceremonies, Religious, Bishops against them, 7, 8. What *Osborn* says of them, 70. Dr. *Gunning* cries out for more, 318
- Characters, in History, vicious when affected, 184, 185. Lord *Clarendon's* such. *ib.*
- Charles I.* his kind Letter to the Pope, 72. His Care of the Protestant Religion, *ib.* Lord *Clarendon's* Saying of his favouring Popery, 73. Lends Men of War against the French Protestants, 76. Imprisons Persons of Quality for not lending Money, 78. Has a Knight pressed for a Soldier, 78. More Imprisonments for not paying Money without a Law, *ib.* Sends for German Horse, 79. His Declaration against his Third Parliament, 81. How unlike *Edward III.* &c. 107. His Cabiner Council, 118. A View of his Government, 121. Puts down Bishops in Scotland, 124. His Queen calls him Names, 142. Loses the Love of the City in a Month, 144. Agreed to establish Presbytery, 195, 202, 203, 291. Mistaken in giving Titles of Honour, 174. For restoring Abbey-Lands, 178. His Saying out of *Ovid*. 192
- Charles II.* a great Presbyterian, 216. and Round head, *ib.* Again, 219. Disowns it, 339. Zealous for the Church of England, *ib.* Favours the Presbyterians. 340, 341
- Charles II.* his Chastity out of *Echard*, 241. Raises four Regiments, and frightens *Cromwell*, 243, 244. Call'd *The Light of our Israel*, 259. Had no good Counsellors, 270. Neglected at the Pyrenean Treaty, 271. Turns Papist, 273. Terms proposed to be made with him, 294. How

I N D E X.

- hinder'd, *ib.* A Plot to seize him in *Flanders*, 297. Promises a free Pardon and Liberty of Conscience, 297. and to govern by the Bible, 300. and to reform Men's Manners, 301. *Roger Palmer* loses his Wife, *ib.* Gives Encouragement to all sorts of Licentiousness and Pleasure, 304. Some great Lords against it, 305. Witty on the suffering Cavaliers, 306. Restored solely by the Presbyterians, 308, 309. His Gratitude towards them for it to his Death, 309. What he said of the Comedy of *Sir Courtly Nice*, 315. His Court *degenerated* and *corrupt*, according to *Echard*, 322. Values himself on keeping his Word, 328. Takes the Covenant three times, 329. Has it burnt. *ibid.*
- Chatbam*, the great Disgrace there. 382
- Chauncy*, Mr. *William*, prosecuted by *Land* for preaching against Popery, &c. 103
- Cheyne*, Dr. his Character by *Bp Hoadley*. 98
- Chillingworth's*, Mr. Objections to the 39 Articles, 27. Not converted by *Land*, 92, & *seq.* 96. Lord *Clarendon*, Mr. *Des Maizeaux*, and others, out in their Account of him; wrong in his Politicks, 96. What he says of Schism, 348
- Church*, what retain'd in it at the Reformation, 18. The true Cause of the Separation from it. 26
- Civil War*, *Laudean* Preachers the sole Cause of it, 62. Promoted by *Land* himself, 67. Voted Just and Lawful, 288, 289. Justified by the Parliament that restored the King. 303
- Clarendon*, Earl of, his History has not one Passage reported by himself at *Roan*, 73. Out about *Land* and *Chillingworth*, 92. Animadverted upon by Mr. *Des Maizeaux*, 95. for three Mistakes, *ib.* His way of reporting Battles and Sieges pleasant, 98. Misrepresentation, 99. An Account of his History out of a MS, 118. Charged with Misrepresentation, *ib.* Speaks against *Strafford*, 129. Unwilling to be Lord-Chancellor of *England* when he was in Exile, 244. Why his History not examin'd, 274. Infallible, 275. Monk like to have the Great Seal from him, 296. Calls his History the *Grand Rebellion*, 302. Condemned in effect by the Parliament that restored the King, 304. His Advice against the Cavaliers, 306. Vener the Madman's *Little Rebellion*, a Branch of the Grand One, 317. and again, 332. Charg'd with making Sham Plots by Mr. *Locke*, 334. King *Charles* did not write *Eikon Basilike*, 191. Partial, 203. Contradicted by Mr. *Locke*, 337, 338. Draws a Declaration in favour of the Presbyterians, 340. Speaks against them, 345. Could do

INDEX.

- do nothing ill, 358. His Plots again, 371. Another Grand Rebellion, 370. Opposed by Sir *William Temple*, 373, 385. His Steadiness, and to what, 385. What he did not do, 386. What he did do, *ib.* Impeached by the Parliament, *ib.* His History tinged by the Country, *ibid.*
- Cleveland*, Dutchess of, what *William Pen* said of her Conversion. 276
- Coat*, a fine one given King *James I.* 53
- Coke*, Mr. his History not so good as Mr. *Echard's*. 67
- Collier*, *Jeremy*, falsifies History. 26
- Commandment*, Fourth, obliges the keeping of the Jewish Sabbath. 28
- Convocation Decrees* consonant to the Word of God, 33. One wanted to make the Nation happy, 329. *Heylin* has one called, *ib.* A true Account of it, 329. The great Things they did after King *Charles II.* came in. 330
- Conway*, Lord, an *Epicurean*, zealous for the Church. 113
- Corporation-Men* mean and leud, 333. What A& made them so, *ib.* Factious. 197
- Cosins*, Bishop, repents of his Severity. 372
- Covenant* misrepresented by *Echard*. 157
- Coverdale*, Dr. *Miles*, will not be restored to his Bishoprick. 6
- Court*, High-Commission, set up by the first Uniformity-A&, 21. What *Osborn* says of it, 21. Commended by *Echard*. 22
- Cowel*, Dr. of Cambridge, his Book suppressed by King *James*. 54
- Cranmer*, Archbishop, for widening Church-Doors. 8
- Cressy*, the Jesuit, denies that *Laud* converted *Chillingworth*. 95
- Cromwell*, Oliver, a Coward, 215. Sells himself to the Devil, 221. His foolish Bargain. *ib.*
- Cromwell*, Richard, Addresses to him, and what he said of them, 258. His Character. 260
- Crown*, the Poet, wrote *Sir Courtly Nice* by Command of K. *Charles II.* 315
- Cruelty*. 223
- Cucumber*, in Sir *Edward Turner's* Speeches. 361, 362

D.

- D** *Anvers*, Sir *John*, a Popish Round-head. 208
- Davis*, Lady, imprisoned for prophesying against King *Charles I.* 83
- Davison*, Secretary, Queen *Elizabeth's* Affestation about him. 89

I N D E X.

<i>Dead Weight</i> , who they were, 216, 336. Called so by Mr. Locke.	ib. 424
<i>Deering</i> , Sir <i>Edward</i> , his Death and Character.	162
<i>Derby</i> , Earl of, conjur'd to Dearth.	41
<i>D'Ewes</i> , Sir <i>Simon</i> , for a further Reformation.	25
<i>Digby</i> , Lord, speaks against Bishops.	129
<i>Dissenters</i> driven out of <i>England</i> by Persecution <i>Temp. Queen Elizabeth</i> .	29
<i>Dreams</i> , &c. <i>Strafford's</i> Father's, 85. Archbishop <i>Land's</i> against Archbishop <i>Williams</i> , ib. about being hanged. ib.	
<i>Dryden</i> , <i>John</i> , his Verse in praise of cutting off the King's Head.	255
<i>Duke</i> , Dr. his Verses on the Earl of <i>Clarendon</i> .	304
<i>Dursey</i> and <i>Shirley</i> compared.	381
<i>Dutch</i> , their Affection and Generosity to King <i>Charles II.</i> 366. He makes War with them, ib. Their Ingratitude to him for it.	ib.

E.

E chard, Mr. promises Impartiality, <i>Introd. p. 1, 2.</i> Vindicates Lord <i>Clarendon</i> against every body, 3. Will make no Reparation, 5. Vindicates all the Miscarriages in <i>Charles I's</i> Reign, 6. Blames the Complaints of Grievances, 8. Praises King <i>James I.</i> 9. Condemns him, ib. Begins loftily, 10. Laughs at a thorough Reformation, 11. Commends himself.	21
<i>Echard</i> , Mr. dislikes King <i>Edward VI's</i> Litany, 5, 15, 19. His Character of <i>Henry VIII.</i> ib. Against a thorough Reformation, 8. Charges the Dissenters as Sectaries wrongfully, 9. Makes Dissenters and Low-Church to be but 1 in 30, 10. Disproved in charging the Dissenters as Innovators, 11. His Encomium on Popish Queen <i>Mary</i> , 17, 39. False in the Rise of Puritanism, 19, 24. Not so sincere as <i>Osborn</i> , 21, 22. Commends the High-Commission Court, 22. False in the Rise of Presbytery, 23, 24, 26, 27. as to the Puritans, 29. Would have them crushed, 32. Contradicts himself, ib. Privy Council and Lord <i>Burleigh</i> against him, 33, 35. False about <i>Hacket</i> and the Presbyterians, 40. Makes them all Fools at <i>Geneva</i> , ib. Believes Conjuring, 41. Contradicts <i>Osborn</i> , ib. Again, 46. Contradicts Dr. <i>Calamy</i> , 46. and <i>Osborn</i> , 50. Sinks much true History, 50, 51. Contradicts <i>Osborn</i> , 52. How he maintains the Dignity of History, 53. King <i>James I.</i> a great Politician, Divine, &c. 55. Approves of his making Papists Privy Counsellors, 56. Who are Fools with him, 57. Disguis'd his main Argument, 58. Against Sir <i>Walter Raleigh</i> , 59. His Blazing Star, ib. 60. That	

INDEX.

That in 1680 prognosticated his History, *ib.* 60. Admirable, 64. Contradicts Mr. Coke in favour of Dr. Laud, 67. Contradicts Archbishop Abbot, &c. about Laud, 68. Joins the Puritans with the Papists, 68. Contradicts Whitlock, 72, 74, 78, 106, 122, 126, 132, 141, 143, 144, 146, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 163, 165, 166, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 187, 193, 198, 200, 208, 212, 217, 218, 220, 221, 253, 263, 269, 283, 287, 288, 292, 395, &c. Contradicts the Parliament, 74. An Abhorrer of secret History, *ib.* Himself a secret Historian, *ib.* 78. Against the Parliament's impeaching Counsellors, or taking and stating the publick Accounts, or doing any thing else, without leave of such Men as Laud, 75, & seq. Contradicts Ludlow, 76. and himself, *ib.* Approves of the King's raising Money, 77. The Cream of his History, 79, 80. Against the Parliament, 82. His Panegyrick on the Star-Chamber Court, 86. Directly contrary to Osborn, *ib.* False again and again as to Revels on Sundays, 87. and as to Laud's Cardinal's Cap, 88, 89. Makes the Church of England to be a Rival to the Church of Rome, 90. Out in saying Laud converted Chillingworth, 92. His way of reporting Battles and Sieges pleasant, 98. False as to Chillingworth's being ill used, 99. and again about burying his Book, 99, 100. Contradicts Dr. Cheynel, *ibid.* Contradicted by Mons. Des Mairzeaux, *ib.* Directly contrary to Dr. Calamy, 102. Contradicts the Lord Clarendon, 104. *Le Clerc* against him, *ib.* Vilifies Dr. Preston, *ib.* False as to Prynne, 105. as to Dr. Bastwick, 106. Ship-Money, 108. and the Book of Sports, 109. His mean Character of the Puritans, 110. Contradicts the Parliament about the Canons, 115. Falshood in it, *ib.* 116, 117. Directly contrary to Mr. Locke, 118. Directly contrary to Ludlow, 120, 121. Says King Charles committed a Sin in passing an Act of Parliament, 122. His After-Wit, *ib.* contrary to King Charles I. *ib.* Writes secret History, 123, 280. contrary to Rushworth, 124. Falshood in his Account of the Long Parliament, 126. Directly contrary to Dr. Calamy, 127. Makes the Parliament Fools, 129. His Encomium on Laud, 131. Contrary to Lord Falkland, *ib.* says Laud was punished for his most laudable Actions, 132. That he was sacrificed by the Lords and Commons, 133. His Authors and their fine Characters, 135. Joins with Nalson against Lord Clarendon, 135. Contradicts Lord Clarendon, 136. and again about the Convocation, *ib.* Surfeiting Character of Strafford, 137. He is of the same mind with the King's Fool, 138. Falshood as to Privilege of Parliament, 140. Laughs at

INDEX.

the Parliament, *ib.* No common Historian, 141. Directly contrary to the Lords and Commons, *ib.* A secret Historian again, 142. What he makes the Queen say to the King, 143. His Encomium on the Lord-Mayor, *ib.* Makes the *Londoners* begin the War, 144. False as to *Sandisford* the Taylor, 145. and as to Parliament Sales, 146. His After-wit, *ib.* Contradicted by himself, *ib.* Vilifies the Puritan Clergy, 147. Directly contrary to Dr. *Calamy*, *ib.* After-wit, 149. again, *ib.* again, *ib.* Inconsistency, 152, 153. Says Mr. *Waller* bribed the Ministers who prayed with him, 154. After-wit, 158. False of *Oliver*, &c. *ib.* Shallowness, *ib.* The Parliament worse than *Nero*, 161. Secret History, 162. Against Mr. *White* and Sir *Edward Dering*, *ib.* Wit, 168, 169. After-wit, 175. Wit, 189. Secret History, 192, 411. Fine History, 207. Abounds in Words, 214. Surprising History, 219, & *seq.* Contradicts *Calamy*, 344, 346, 388, 410. Commends the *Bartholomew* Act, 350. Falshood, 351. His Usage of Bishop *Gauden* and Mr. *Lenthall*, 357. Contradicts Mr. *Locke* and *Mons. Des Maizeaux*, 369, 407, 410, 416, 423. His Usage of Dr. *Spurlow*, 376. General *Ludlow*, and Colonel *Sidney*, 377. His Account of *Chatham* Victory, 384. Secret History, 398. His Manuscripts, 403. Fine History, 404. His good Manners, 405, 415. Borrows from a *French* Jesuit, 406, 412. Contradicts himself. 417

Echara, Mr. his Panegyrick on King *Charles* II'd's Modesty, 241. Contradicts every one about it, *ib.* Makes *Cromwell* guilty of Whoring, 242. Makes him an Assassin, 244. and *Thurloe* an Idiot, 245. His great Familiarity, 248. Makes *Oliver* a great Swearer, 249. Falshood as to the High Court of Justice, 250. Vilifies the Puritan Preachers again, 250. A counterfeit Address in his History, 252. Falshood about *Richard's* Succession, 253, 257. Has the Story of *Cromwell* and *Old Nick* up again, 254. His monstrous Character of *Oliver*, *ib.* Makes Mr. *Storry* the Minister speak Blasphemy in praise of *Cromwell*, *ib.* His extravagant Character of Mr. *Rouse*, 256. His Report of King *Charles's* Triumphs, 259. Hangs up *Oliver*, 260. Ploughs with a Heifer, 261. Much After-wit, *ib.* His Characters of the Exiles with King *Charles* II. 262. of *Monk* and his Kingship, 265. False as to *Monk's* early Loyalty, *ib.* & *seq.* and as to his Fanatical Fumes, 265, 266. His witty Saying of *Monk* and *Lambert*, 279. Errs about *Monk* and the City, 284. Contradicts himself, 285. Errs about *Monk* and the *Portugal* Match, 286, 287. His excellent Manuscripts, 287. Abuses

I N D E X.

buses the Parliament, 288. Who are his wise Heads, 291. Meannesses, 296. His Joy so great, he cannot bear it, 298, 299, 304. His Authors again, 300. Praises King *Charles* II'd's Piety, 301. Flattery and Absurdity, 302. Censured by *Monf. Des Maizeaux*, 303. and by the Parliament in effect, 304. He misrepresents the Presbyterians, 309. and again, 310. Is pleased with the Hangings, &c. 313. Says *Hugh Peters* was a Whoremaster and Drunkard, 313. His softning Methods, 314. His Felicities of *England*, 315. Insinuates that the Presbyterians were in *Venner's* Plot, 317. Directly contrary to *Dr. Calamy*, 318. Misrepresents *Mr. Baxter*, 319, 320. Why he flatters King *Charles* II'd's Long Parliament, 320, & seq. Flatters them again, 324. Forgets himself, 326. Out very much, 327, 328. Copies after *Oliver's* Fidler, 330. His Plots, 331, 332. Good Corporations, Nests of Sedition, 333. Contradicts *Mr. Locke*, 334. again, *ib.* 336.
Egerton, Lord Chancellor, *Osborn* and *Echard* differ about him. 65
Eikon Basilike, its true Author. 171, 189, 191
*Electo*r, Prince, received with Scorn. 180
Elizabeth, Queen, rigid for Ceremonies, 14, 15. and showy in Worship, 20, 22. Her Affectation about the Scots Queen, 39. Her Zeal for the Protestant Religion, 43. Her Glory, *ib.* Her superabundant Clemency. 15
Empericks, State, since the Reformation. 43
Employments, who should not have them. 169
Essex, Earl of, his Plot a Presbyterian one. 41

F.

Falkland, Lord, speaks against Bishops. 130, 131
Farrar, Bishop and Martyr, abused by *A. Wood* of *Oxford*. 8
Fidler, *Oliver's*, *Roger L'Esrange*. 330
Fish, Mr. Author of a witty Treatise against Popish Priests Temp. *Henry VIII.* 3
Five Members, Attempt against them occasions the War. 144
Fleet Prison, King *Charles* II'd's Friends there to do him service. 243
Fox, Mr. his Account of the Stop put to the Reformation, 4. For a further Reform, 20. Refuses Subscription to the Canons, 33. Abused by *A. Wood*. *Introd. p.* 12
Franckfort, Divisions there among the *English* Exiles. 13
Freedom, in History-Writers commendable. *Introd.* 17, & seq.
F . . . Dr. swears to his History. *Introd.* 21

INDEX.

G.

- G**AGE, Mr. his Account of the Agreement between
Land's Church and Popery. 111
Geneva Religion, reflected on by *Land*, 9. Approved by
Philpot the Martyr, 12. and by eminent *English Divines*,
 13, 14, 16, 20. *Sedaries*, all their Ministers, according
 to *Echard*. 31, 32
Gentlemen take Care of themselves. 295
Goodman, Mr. a *Geneva Exile*, abused by *A. Wood*. 17
Gorges, Sir *Ferdinando*, his great Honour. 77
Government, what is better for it than Trade and Liberty.
 256
Graham, Bishop, his formal Renunciation of Episcopacy.
 125
Greenville, Sir *John*, what he was to have. 295
Grimston, Sir *Harbottle*, his Speech against Episcopacy, 293.
Reprimands Mr. Lenthall. 303
Gunning, Dr. cries out for more Ceremonies, 318
Gunpowder-Plot charged to the Puritans. 51

H.

- H**Abits, Religious, good Churchmen against them. 7, 8
Hacker's Blasphemies charged to the Presbyterians. 40
Hales, Mr. of *Eaton*, made a Socinian by *Thomas Lang B.D.*
 and *Robert Conald M.A.* 246
Hales, Mr. his Oration against Popish Queen *Mary*, 17.
Mr. Echard's for her. *ib.*
Hall, Bishop, for Presbytery. 114
Hanging-Work, a great deal of it after the Restoration, 312,
 & seq. Softning Methods. 314
Harsnet, Bishop, his Sermon burnt by the Hangman. 63
Henry VIII. Mr. *Echard's* Character of him, 5. Promises to
re-purge the Church. 6
Henry IV. of France, why he discover'd the Gunpowder-
 Plot. 52
Henry, Prince, why his Father King *James* did not like
 him. 61
Heylin falsifies History, 8. Abuses Mr. *Goodman*, an Exile at
Geneva, 17. Agrees with *Parsons* the Jesuit, 17. What
 he liked best in our Church, 18, 19. For the Host, *ib.*
 Writes against *Pach* the Court-Fool, 22. What a rare
 Protestant he was, 92. Some of his fine History, 113.
 Calls a Convocation. 328
Hewson, *John*, M.A. a Shoemaker, a Colonel, and one of
Oliver's Lords, 248. Did not make good Shoes. 270
Historians, their Art in certain Characters. 94
History,

I N D E X.

- History*, Secret, among the Antients, *Introd.* 25. Approved, *ibid.*
History, pitiful. 263, 264, 336, & *seq.*
Hooper, Bishop and Martyr, abused by *A. Wood.* 8
Horn, Bishop, abused by *A. Wood.* 8
Humphry, Dr. *Lawrence*, the Puritan, his great Learning. 13
Hyde, Sir *Edward*, justifies the Cessation with the Popish Rebels. 165

I.

- J**AMES I. King, establishes the Uniformity-Act by Proclamation only, 22. *Oshorn's* Character of him, 44. His Speech in praise of the Kirk of *Scotland*, 45. Kind to Papists, 49. Laughed at by the Pope, 53. Consummate Wisdom, 53. Sets up Arbitrary Power, 55. What *Henry IV.* of *France*, said of him, *ibid.* In what the Strength of his Arguments consisted, 56. His Speech in favour of Popery, 57. Loved Dominion, 58. His Treatment of his Daughter the Queen of *Bohemia*, 60. His handsome Letters to the Pope, 66. Angry with one Historian, and hangs another. *Introd.* 22
James II. his Character in *France.* 414 *Introd.* 16
Jeanes, Mr. Minister of *Obedsey*, ejected, 357. His great Merit. *ib.*
Independents, have two Archbishops. 259
Ireton, Mr. abused by the Historian. 224
Judgments, Mr. *Echard's*, against *Henry VIII.* 5. against Sir *W. Raleigh.* 59
Juxon, Dr. a Divine, made Lord High Treasurer by *Land's* means, 104. Rides in Triumph. *ib.*

K.

- K**ATE *Johnson*, a Fortune-Teller, saves *Leisibal.* 262
Katherine, Queen, why she miscarried. 375
Kirk, Colonel, his Religious Zeal. 324
Kirk of Scotland, praised by King *James.* 45
Knollys, Sir *Francis*, a zealous Protestant. 22

L.

- L**ADIES, fine, in the Cavalier Camp, 170. Their Intrigues about Religion. 411
Lambert, his Definition of the Catholick Church. 47
Lambert, General, his foolish Insurrection. 292
Laud, Archbishop, calls the *Geneva* Reformation *New-fangled*, 9. His Rise in *Coke's* scandalous, 67. His Counsels the Cause of the Civil War, 67, 70. When young, suspected of Popery, *ib.* ABp and Bishop *Abbot*, their Cha-

INDEX.

- Character contrary to *Echard's*, 68. What made him a Dove, 68, 69, &c. His Saying of a Tinker and his Bitch, 69. Contradicts the Parliament, 74. For racking Criminals, 75. Advises to raise Money without Parliament, 77. In a Flame, 79. A Commissioner for raising Money by Excise, *ib.* General of the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission* Courts, 80. ... Delight in the terrible Description of Dr. *Leighton's* Punishment, 80. Draws up King *Charles's* Declaration against the House of Commons, 81. and a Complaint against *Archy*, the King's Fool, 83. Has the better of him, *ib.* 84. His Dreams about Chains, Hanging, &c. 85. Refuses a Cardinal's Cap, 88. Cavalier Gentlemen petition against him, *ib.* Treats for a Pension from the Pope, 89. Offers to go and live at *Rome*, *ib.* Papists looked upon him as theirs, 92. Did not convert *Chillingworth*, 92, 95, & seq. His Behaviour to all sorts of true Protestants, 94. What *Rushworth* says of his Cardinal's Cap, 102. For making an Image of God, 103. Breaks the Sabbath to have *Prynne* prosecuted, 105. The sole Cause of the barbarous Usage of Mr. *Prynne*, 105, 106. Denies his Warrant, 106. Protests *Chowney*, a Popish Author, *ib.* Defamed the Holy Scriptures, 108. Prosecutes Mr. *Oshaldeston*, *Cowley's* Master, 109. Advises against the Parliament, 111. Calls *Presbytery* a Fiction, 114. His Conference with *Fryar Jones*, 115. How he understood Church-History, 115, 116. For making the Subjects Slaves, 119. *Echard's* Account of his most laudable Actions, 132. Sacrificed by the Lords and Commons, 133. Had been a Lord of the Treasury, 279. More a Saint than the Primitive Ones, 162. What Mr. *Locke* said of him. 422
- Lauderdale*, a great Church-Historian, 393. A Friend to the Lords and the Ladies, *ib.* and Bishops. 420
- Leighton*, Dr. whipped and mangled by *Laud's* Sentence, 80. Approved by *Echard*. 81
- Lenthall*, Mr. reprimanded by the Speaker Sir *Harb. Grimstone*. 303
- L'Estrange*, Roger, one of *Echard's* Authorities, 330. Called *Oliver's* Fidler, *ib.* Proposes the turning out all Presbyterian Parsons, 333. Like to be hanged. 162, 330
- Libra*, why Mr. *Echard* places his blazing Star there, 59, 60
- Lilly*, the Almanack-maker, offers to restore the King. 208, 209
- Liste*, Mr. saves Mr. *Mordaunt's* Life, 249. Murder'd. *ib.*
- Litany*, Addition to it against the Pope, 5. Left out, *ibid.* 15, 19
- Liturgie*, a Lord's Speech about it. 347, 423
- Liturgie*

I N D E X.

- Liturgy* made passable to Papists, 19. Pope offers to confirm it, *ib.* What *Osborn* says of it, 23. Bishop *Hall's* Account of its being liked by the Papists. 112
- Locke*, Mr. says *Monk* designed to set up himself, 285. Contradicted by Mr. *Echard*, 334. Charges him with Sham-Plots, *ib.* and the Lord *Clarendon*, *ibid.* What he said of some Churchmen, 335. of Lord *Clarendon's* Plots, 337, 338. of certain Clergymen, 373. of Toleration, opposed by *Echard*, 407. His Saying of *Laud*, 422. and Arbitrary Power. 424
- Londoners* begin the War according to *Echard*, 144. Sink of Sedition. 186, 207
- Lord Mayor*, described by Lord *Clarendon*. 332
- Lort*, *John*, Esq; chosen a Prince, 336. Good History. *ib.*
- Loyal*, what some People mean by it. 165
- Ludlow*, General, as good a Gentleman, and as good an Historian as the best of them, 73, 138. Who had his Estate. 139

M.

- M** *Aizeaux*, Monsieur *des*, his Account of Mr. *Chillingworth's* Non-Subscription, 27. of *A. Wood*, the *Oxonian's* Libelling Protestants, 92. What he says of *Laud* objected against, 94. Animadverts on the Earl of *Clarendon*, 95. and makes too much use of him, 133, 134. Convicts *Nelson* of Falshood, 135. and *Echard* about the Civil War, 303. and again. 423
- Manuscript Authors* Reflections on the Lord *Clarendon's* History. 119
- Mazarine*, Cardinal, his ill Opinion of King *Charles II's* Counsellors, 270. How many Archbishops and Bishops in his Train. 277
- Ministry* in King *James* and King *Charles I's* Reign, how they were employ'd. 64, 70
- Monk*, his Canting Address to the Rump, 261. Takes the Engagement against King *Charles II.* 262. Bargains with him, 264. His Reasons for it, *ib.* 265. Some would make him King, 265. His Canting Letter against the King, 266. His Fortune told concerning the King, *ib.* His Secrecy, 268. Renounces *Charles Stuart*, *ib.* Is cunning, dumb, and asleep, 279, 281. His great Respect to Mr. *Spot*, 281. Has no early Designs to bring in the King, 292. His Speech against him in Parliament, 283. Persuaded by the *French* Ambassador to make himself King, 285. Mr. *Locke's* Account of it, *ib.* Prevented by Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, 286. *Locke's* Saying of his Heaviness, *ib.* The Ambassador's mean Opinion of him, 289. Dr.

I N D E X.

- Dr. Webster* says he was a great Man, 289. One of *Oliver's* Lords, 293. Faithful to the King when he was fighting against him, 294. Offer'd to be made Lord High Chancellor, 296. He takes the Paper, steps back, &c. *ib.* The main Turn of all, *ib.* A Presbyterian, 308. Has the Surname of *Bonus*, or Good, 302, 309, 338. *Whitlock* of his Dissimulation, 283. Has the Title of Highness, 356. Pointed at, at Church. 392
- Montague*, Dr. and Bishop, his Book for Popery and Arbitrary Power, 73. Condemned by the Parliament, *ibid.* Applauded by *Dr. Land*, 74. Abuses *Casaubon*, *Introduit.* 23, 24. Called Rascal by a *French* Papist. 23
- Montross's* Letter, ill Effects of it. 167
- Moon*, Full, a Church one, according to *Dr. Prideaux*. 33
- More*, Sir *Thomas*, his rude Answer to Mr. *Fish*. 3
- Morland*, Sir *Samuel*, good History about him. 245
- Morrice*, Sir *William*, writes for Presbytery. 308

N.

- N** *Alfon* convicted of Falshood by Mr. *Des Maizeaux*. 135
- Neile*, Archbishop, a Commissioner for raising Money by Excise. 79
- Noddle*, New, the Use of it. 168
- Nowell*, Dean, a Puritan, rebuked in a Sermon by Queen *Elizabeth*. 14
- Noy*, the Lawyer, the greatest Friend the Church had, 83. The People glad when he died. *ib.*

O.

- O** *Atbs*, some apt to break them, according to *Locke*, 335. and according to Truth. *Introd.* 20
- Odeschalchi*, Pope, desires to see Bishop *Burnet*. 272
- Oldsworth*, not so good a Calculator as *L'Estrange*. 330
- Oliver Cromwell*, a Whoremaster; 242. His Assassination-Plot against the three Royal Brothers, 244. Frighted by Colonel *Titus*, 249. Frighted by every thing, *ib.* Panegyrics upon him, by *Dryden*, *Waller*, &c. 255
- Ordination*, a Priest made on purpose. 218
- Original Contract*, asserted in Parliament. 71
- Ormond*, Marquis, impeached as a Traitor, 153. Joins the *Irish* Rebels. 175, 212
- Osbaldeston*, Mr. *Cowley's* Master, prosecuted severely by *Land*. 109
- Osborn*, what he says of the Liturgy and the Pope, 19. of the Uniformity-Act and High-Commission Court, 21. More sincere than *Echard*, 21. What he says of Priests Power, 22. of the Common-Prayer, 23. of persecuting the

INDEX.

the Puritans, 28, 29. of *Cambden's* Partiality and Ingratitude, 39. of the Injustice done Secretary *Davison*, 39. His Character of King *James*, 46. of Archbishop *Bancroft*, 49. What he says of persecuting Conscientious Men, *ib.* of the Divines then, 50. of King *James's* Weakness, 59, &c. of the Power of the Priests, 61. of King *James* Ist's disliking Prince *Henry*, *ib.* of the Preachings for Arbitrary Power, 62. against Ceremonies, 70. of the Star-Chamber Court. 86

P.

PACH, the Court-Fool, breaks a *Cruicifix*, 22. blamed for it by *Heylin*. *ib.*

Papists better than some other People. 275

Paris, Mathew, his History commended by *Monfieur Menage*. 185

Parliaments always abused by a certain Party. 6

Parliament, Long, the Members *Presbyterians*, 126. Never heard of before, *ib.* But one *Presbyterian* in it. 127

Parliament, Long, called detestable by *Echard*, 289. Their great Character by *Foreigners*. *ib.*

Parliament, that voted the King in, 290. Many of them chosen contrary to a Vote, *ib.* Their Names, *ib.* Fit for the Business, 291. *Rumpers* in that Assembly, 293. They justify the *Civil War*, which Lord *Clarendon* calls the *Grand Rebellion*, 303. King *Charles* called them the *Blessed Parliament*.

Parliament, the second Long, the greatest Men upon Earth, 320. Why *Echard* makes them so, 311, 321. A List of some of them, 321, 322. Proved not to be the greatest Men, 321. Repeat the *Triennial Bill*, 321. Places and Pensions taken, 322. Names of some called Pensioners, *ib.* 323, 325, 327. The greatest Men again, 324. Their incomparable Acts and Resolutions, 325. prove them to be so, says Mr. *Echard*, *ib.* Pass an Act for *Passive Obedience*. 333

Patrimony of the Church, an Inquiry after it, 47, 48. Sr. *Peter's*, who has it in possession. 48. *Introd.* 14

Pennington, Captain, gives up seven *English* Men of War to the *French*. 77

Pensioners in the Long Parliament. 322, & seq. 327, 328

Perincheb, Dr. an admirable Historian, 209. His Miracles. *ib.*

Persecution in King *Charles* the II'd's Reign, worse than that in the *Popish* Queen *Mary's*, 10. *Whisgift's*, 32, 34, 36. *Bancroft's*, 46. Never thrived under wise and good Kings, 64. Lord *Shaftesbury's* Saying of it, 353. Picture of it 368.

Petti-

INDEX.

- Pettifoggers* excluded Corporations. 197
- Philips*, Sir Robert, his Speeches for Liberty, 71. Asserts the Original Contract. *ib.*
- Philpot*, the Martyr, his Courage. 11
- Piety*, the loose Conception which Bigots have of it. 141
- Pilkington*, Bishop, his Exceptions to the Liturgy. 7
- Plots* thrown on the Puritans, 17. Again, 39. Again, 51, 297
- Plots* thrown on the Presbyterians, 17. Again, 39. Again, 41. Again, 51, 297. Again, 316, 317. Again, 331. Again, 332. Again, 337. Again, 359. Again, 379. Again. 404
- Plots*, Bandbox and Screw out-done. 298, 299
- Plots*, Sham ones, why made. 337, & seq. 360, 379, 404
- Pluralities*, Archbishop *Whitgift* for them, 8. The Sin of them. *ib.*
- Poets*, a Duel by two. 168
- Presbyterians* restore Episcopacy. 280
- Presbyterians* sober and popular, 38. Charged with *Hacket's* Blasphemies, 40. Commonwealths-men, 41. Restored Monarchy, *ib.* As great Enemies to our Church as the Jesuits, according to *Echard*, 47. Persecuted, 32, 34, 36, 46. Acts of Parliament for it, 325. Persecuted, 352, 353. Again, 362, 363. Again, 368, 369, and so to the End of the Book. Not against Bishops, 125. Their Ministers reproached by *Echard*, 127. Sole Causes of the Restoration, 307. Persecuted afterwards, 309. To the Revolution called Rogues and Regicides by *Heylin* and *Dugdale*, 309. Two or three thousand Ministers turned out. 317
- Presbyters* and Bishops all one at first. 116
- Presbytery*, its Rise, 26. Called a Fiction by *Land*, 114. Bishop *Hall* for it, *ib.* Sir *William Morrice* writes for it. 308
- Preston*, Dr. refuses the Great Seal, 104. Vilify'd by Mr. *Echard*. *ib.*
- Preston*, Mr. of Cambridge, why preferred to Mr. *Cartwright*. 29, 30
- Pretence*, under, an admirable Phrase to serve a Turn. 30, 41
- Priests*, certain, 157, 317. Lord *Shaftesbury's* Saying of them, 408. Mr. *Locke's*. 424
- Priests*, ill ones, A.D. 1584. and A.D. 1684. compared, 35. Ill ones. 50
- Proclamation*, how many in fourteen Years, 82. Instead of Statutes. *ib.*
- Prynne*, Mr. *Echard* false in his Report of him. 105
- Puritanism*, when it began, according to *Echard*, 19, 31. Abused by him, 29. Not the *New Religion*, 90. but the oldest. *Introd.* 15
- Puritans*, Dr. *Calamy's* Account of them compared with *Echard's*, 29, 31, & seq. Great Men among them, 31. What

INDEX.

What Archbishop *Williams* said of them, 421. *Osborn* in favour of them, 49. Called Beasts by a Bishop, 50. The Gunpowder-Plot charged to them, 51. *Gondemar* against them, 58. Their Enemies the true Cause of the Civil War, 63. Joined by *Echard* with the Papists, 68. Idle and refractory Persons, 110. Driven out of *England*, *ib.* Describ'd by *Echard*, 110. How they disturb'd the Peace of the Kingdom, 297. Not Churchmen. 177

R.

- R**ailing Historians. *Introd.* p. 17
Raleigh's Plot. 58
Reason and Eloquence, where only to be had. 311, 312
Rebellions, several by *Non-Resistance Men.* 147
Reformation, *Thorough*, a Jest, 6. pressed for, and by whom, 9. made a Jest, and by whom, 14. made compleat by the 39 Articles, 24. the Parliament for it, 24. Speeches for it, 25. what was the Lett to it. *ib.*
Reformers, First, of what Principle, 2. Lords and Ladies patronize them, *ib.* *English* often agreeing with foreign Protestants. 9
Regicides, how Mr. *Echard* disposes of them. 312, & seq.
Religion, Care of, the same with that of Church-Lands, 57. more of it, 61. and more of it. 66
Restoration, the whole Secret of it, 265. our only Happiness in it, 304. Presbyterians the sole Causers of it. 307, 308
Revolution, our great Happiness by it. 304
Rogers, Mr. his Exception to Ceremony and Habits. 7
Rosetti, Cardinal, his Treaty with *Land* about a Cap and a Pension from the Pope. 89
Rump, frighten'd by Sir G. Booth. 261
Rushworth, what he says of Popery and *Land.* 67

S.

- S**abbath-Breaking, commanded by K. *James I.* 22
Sampson, Dr. the Puritan, his great Worth. 14
Saunderson, Bp, for employing the ejected Ministers. 372
Savoy-Conference, something more about it. 318
Schism, *Chillingworth's* Saying of it, 348. differs from *Scismars*, *ib.* a glorious Bill against it. 361
Scot, Mr. highly respected by *Monk*, 281. is condemn'd by him to be hang'd, *ib.* 314. *Echard's* Mistakes concerning him. *ib.*
Sectaries, all Protestants such, but some in *England.* 81
Sedition, good Protestants charged with it. 5
Selden, Mr. his great Learning, 150. His Character of certain Clergy. 151

INDEX.

- Smyour*, Sir *Edward*, has General *Ludlow's* Estate, 139. His Zeal how well grounded, 324. Impeaches the Earl of *Clarendon*. 386
- Sheldon*, Dr. ABp of *Canterbury*, his most Christian Charity. 346, 389
- Sherfield*, *Edward* Esq; prosecuted by *Laud* for removing an Image of God. 103
- Ship-Money*, promoted by the Clergy, and why. 108
- Somersetshire Revels*, petition'd for by the Clergy there, 87. Petition'd against by the Gentry. 88
- Somersetshire*, Presentment against Attorneys in Corporations, 197, 198. Petition against K. *Charles I.* 206
- Sports*, Book of, commanding them on Sundays. 22, 51, 109
- Strafford*, Earl of, bribed by Places and Pensions to leave the Country Party, 120. Confederate with *Laud*, *ibid.* General *Ludlow's* Account of the Advice he gave the King, 121. Will die for the Bishops, 121. His Triumph and white Soul out of *Echard*, 137. An Oracle, a Tall Cedar, a General, and a Politician, out of the same, *ib.* His Death on the Scaffold, 138. *Arby*, the King's Fool, against it. 138
- Subscriptions*, the Cause of Separation, 7, 37. limited by Parliament, 25. the Occasion of the Divisions about Religion, 26. objected against by *Chillingworth*, 27. the main Instruments of some People. 32

T.

- T** *Albot*, Sir *Gilbert*, his fine Negotiations. 183, 184
- Talbot*, Sir *John*, helps Mr. *Echard*. 245
- Temple*, Sir *William*, against Persecution. 373, 385
- Ten to One*, *Oldsworth's* is Thirty to One, according to *L'Estrange*, 330. and nothing at all according to *Locke*. 334
- Thou*, Monsieur *de*, refuses K. *James's* Memoirs. *Introd.* 23
- Thurloe*, Oliver's Secretary, a sad Fool, according to *Echard*. 245
- Tinker and his Bitch*, ABp *Laud's* Saying of them. 69
- Toasts*, Cavalier, restored the King, 310. One of the Felicities. 315
- Transubstantiation*, complimented by Mr. *Echard*. 15
- Triers of Ministers*, who were turned out by them, 250. and who put in. 251
- Turner*, Sir *Edward*, a great Speaker, 361. never forgets the Cucumber, *ib.* Spoke Latin twice, 362. very fine, 364. His *Shiboleth* the same as the Cucumber, 370. Rhetorical and graceful. 380
- Tyranny*, who set it up. *Introd.* I

V.

I N D E X.

V.

- V**anity of a certain Party. 30
Venner, a Madman, hanged. 316, 317
Verses upon ABp Bancroft out of *Osborn*, 49. on the Earl of Clarendon. 305
Vortot, Abbot, his Saying of Priests Avarice, 103. his fine Rule for History. 139
Uniformity and Rigour, the same things with *Unity and Peace*. 34
Uniformity Act, Q. *Elizabeth's*, deprives many Ministers, 16. met with Oppositions, 19. ill Effects of it, 21. occasions the setting up a High-Commission Court, *ib.* its Legality question'd after Q. *Elizabeth's* Death. 21
Uniformity Act, another, preceded by Plots. 331, 332
Universities, what Doctrine they broached. 63
University of Cambridge, great Lovers of our Constitution. 74

W.

- W**alker, Sir Edward, a great Politician. 179
Walker, Dr. proves Bp *Gauden* wrote *Eikon Basilike*. 189, 190
Waller, Mr. his Speech against the Preachers for Arbitrary Power, 128. his Excuse to K. *Charles* for praising *Oliver*. 255
Walsh, a Prisoner in the *Fleet*, contrives to set the French King upon *Cromwell*. 245
War, Civil, at whose Doors it should lie. 182
Ward, Dr. a most Christian Bishop, 373. his great Charity, *ib.* 388. A. *Wood* against him. 395
Webster, Dr. his Life of *Monk*, 267. a noble Undertaking, *ib.* says *Monk* was a great Man. 289
Wellwood, Dr. of *Montrose's* fatal Letter. 167
Welsh, their Humanity. 173
Wentworth, Sir *Thomas*, imprison'd by the Court, 77. turns Courtier, 82. his Conduct opposed by the Earl of *Clarendon*, 83. Vide *Strafford*.
Wentworth, Mr. his Speech about Bishops to ABp *Parker*. 26
Wharton, Mr. some of his fine History. 113
Whitehead, Mr. the Puritan, refuses the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*. 13
Whitgift, ABp, for Pluralities, 8. and Persecution, 32. contrary to the Privy Council's and Lord *Burleigh's* Letters, 35. terribly active, 34, 38. what Ministers he prefer'd, 35. persecutes, 36, 37. is the occasion of our Church-Divisions, 37. opposes the Earl of *Essex*, his Pupil, as Chancellor of *Oxford*, *ib.* said K. *James* had the Holy Ghost, 47, 56. alters the Coronation-Oath for him. 54
Wicque-

I N D E X.

- Wicquefort*, Lord, his Account of *Laud's* Treaty with the Pope for a Pension, 89. gives a better Account of our Dangers from Popery than the Lord *Clarendon* or *Echard*, 112. his Character of *Cromwell*, 271. what he says of Bishops taking Temporal Employments. 278
- Williams*, ABp, his Saying of the Puritans, 42. his taking Arms for the Parliament, 172. abused by *A. Wood*, &c. 173
- Wise Men*, Mr. *Echard's*. 419
- Witty Books*, the best on Mr. *Echard's* side. 38
- Womack*, Bp, his unparalleled Eloquence. 355
- Wood*, *A.* of Oxford, abuses Bp *Hooper* the Martyr, 8. and Bp *Farrar* the Martyr, *ib.* and Bp *Horn*, *ib.* and Dean *Whittingham*, *ib.* and Dean *Humphry Lawrence*, 13. and Mr. *Goodman*, the English Exile at Geneva, 17. charges him with plotting to kill the Queen, *ib.* Mr. *Des Maizeaux* charges him with libelling Protestants, 92. abuses ABp *Williams*, 173. abuses the Lord *Clarendon*, 305. says Sir *William Morrice* wrote for Presbytery, 308. his good Character of *Baxter*, 320. his Character of Bp *Ward*, 395. against *Fox* the Martyrologist. *Introd.* 12
- Wroth*, Sir *Thomas*, one of the Rump, 194. abused in the History. 194
- Wylde*, Judge, Mr. *Echard's* Character of him. 395

Y.

YORK, Duke of, his Marriage with *Hyde's* Daughter, 305. various Discourses upon it, *ib.* his great Courage, 365. and Places. 366

Z.

ZEAL, Intemperate, ABp *Whitgift's*. 42

Zeal, Queen *Elizabeth's*, for the Protestant Religion, hearty and unaffected. 43

T H E E N D.



